

THE AGE OF ŚANKARA

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

Ex Orientale lux; Ex occidente frux—from the East light; from the West fruit—is a suggestive old saying. Spiritual light has always come from the east and the fruit of materialistic science has been the gift from the west. India has produced a host of intellectuals among whom Sankara takes the place of eminence. His life has been a miracle of thirty-two years which to relate is not history but a piece of poetry and will sound like a legend. He was a sublime actor on the stage of the world who knew what he was thinking of when he unflinchingly said :

श्लोकार्धेन प्रवक्ष्यामि यदुक्तं ग्रन्थकोटिभिः ।

ब्रह्म सत्यं जगन्मिथ्या जीवो ब्रह्मैव नापरः ॥

‘I expound in half a verse, what has been spoken of in million volumes—Brahman is the Truth and the world is mere illusion ; the soul is none other than Brahman.’ This great luminary did save our Sanatana dharma at a critical juncture of religious unrest and he was its most virile and combative exponent. We reckon Sankara as an *avatar* with a practical mission in an age of delusion and decadence. Unique in the achievements of his own life, his greatness all the more is enhanced by the rich legacy of thought he had left behind and the stable institutions he had founded for individual salvation and knowledge. Centuries have rolled by, still he shines in the row of renowned teachers of the world.

My father, who was engrossed in this intense study about Sankara for twenty long years, produced this biography of the Loka-Guru in 1916, which stands as his chef-d’oeuvre.

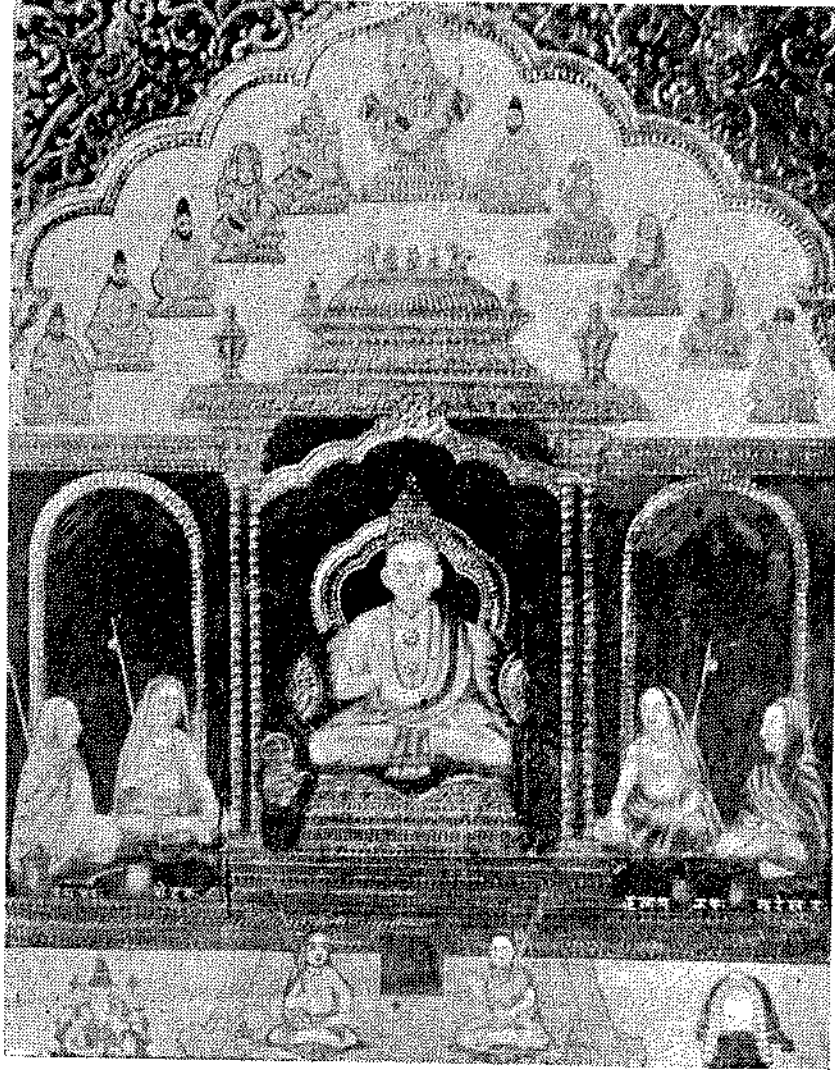
As originally planned he could not bring out all the supplements he promised to incorporate. Death overtook him at the prime of life and prevented him from fulfilling his intentions. The manuscripts containing valuable matter were lost, leaving no trace behind. Our revered Jagadguru Sri Sankaracharya of the Kanchi Kamakotipitha has graciously accorded his willingness to include my father's work in the Kosasthanam book series. Destiny has resuscitated my father's work at last after half a century of oblivion. Now the second edition has been enlarged with three appendices, one of which is a reproduction of my father's 'Successors of Sankaracharya'. The publication of this second edition happily synchronises with the birth centenary of its author. I render my sincere pranamam to His Holiness, Sri Acharya Swamigal of Kanchi Kamakotipitha without whose munificence this work would not have come to light at all. To Sri Neelakanta Iyer of B. G. Paul & Co., Madras, I am very much indebted for the keen interest he took in this project and for his valuable advice. I will not forget the Liberty Press people who did this job promptly with typographic excellence.

It is my earnest hope that my father's method of approach to the problem of Sankara will stimulate other scholars to bring to light more facts about our World-Teacher. Lastly, my part here is very insignificant; I can say with the poet 'गजेन प्रस्थिते मार्गे किं न याति पिपीलिका ?'

I-Block, 17 Flat, Turnbills Rd. }
MADRAS-35.
Pausha Purnima, 9-2-1971 }

T. N. Kumaraswamy,
Author's son.

॥ ॐ ॥
श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ।



सदाशिवसमारम्भां शङ्कराचार्यमध्यमाम् ।
अस्मदाचार्यपर्यन्तां वन्देगुरुपरम्पराम् ॥

(To the Line of Gurus originating from Sadasiva, Śaṅkara in the middle, up to the present Pithacharya I bow.)

AUTHOR'S FOREWORD TO THE FIRST EDITION

“The Age of Śaṅkara,” herewith submitted to the public, is intended to be published in Two Parts, each consisting of about 400 Pages (16 mo. Double Crown) with a number of Appendices added to each part. Part I consists of a General Introduction and four Chapters and six Appendices. Chapter I deals with the Method of Investigation followed in the book; and Chapter II enumerates the various chief Eras of Indian Chronology with their respective dates as settled and assumed in this work. Chapter III is a very long chapter dealing with all the main incidents connected with the life of Śrīmad Ādi Śaṅkarāchārya or Śaṅkara as he is uniformly called here, —the first Śaṅkara who was born at Kālāṭi in the year 2593 of the Kali Yuga, corresponding to 509 B. C. of Āryāmba and Sivaguru, and who, after establishing the Advaita Philosophy throughout the whole of India, finally attained his Brahmībhāva at Kāñchī in the year 2625 of the Kali Yuga corresponding to 477 B. C. In this chapter, is also given a short and succinct sketch of the various works composed by him and of the occasions on which they were composed. Chapter IV deals with the various Śaṅkarāchāryas or successors of Śaṅkara in the five great Mutts established by him for the preservation and propagation of the Advaita-Vedānta Darśana. As at present written, it consists of four sections. In section 1 is given a detailed and critical account of the 67 successors of Śaṅkara in the Kāmakotipīṭha established by Śaṅkara at Kāñchī on Vaisākha Śukla Pūrṇimā of the year Siddharthin in 2620 of the

Kali Yuga corresponding to 481 B. C. with Śrī Śankara Bhagavatpāda himself as its first Āchārya. It also briefly notices other works of importance written by them, and other great men or poets who were contemporary with them together with the dates of their Abhishēka or installation on the Pīṭha, and Brahmībhāva or mysterious union or departure from this mundane existence. In section 2 is given a similar account of the successors of Śankara in the Śaradā Pīṭha at Śringagiri established by Śankara at Śringēri on Pausha Śukla Pūrṇimā of the year Pingala in 2618 of the Kali Yuga corresponding to 483 B. C. with Hastāmālakāchārya or Prithvīdhara (Prthvīdhava) as its first Āchārya. It consists of only 33 Āchāryas from the beginning of its establishment up to the present day, as given in the list of Āchāryas of the Śringēri Mutt as at present published. Evidently the records of the Śringēri Mutt before the time of Śrī Vidyāranya must have been lost, and a vain attempt has been made by some of the Āchāryas to trace up their predecessors or supposed predecessors up to the time of Ādi Śankara and in the attempt they have ignominiously failed and ended in assuming a wrong date for Ādi Śankara himself by mistaking the year 2625, the date of his Brahmībhāva as referring to the Yudhishtīra Śaka as understood by the Buddhists and Jains, which according to them began 468 years after the commencement of the Kali Yuga, instead of taking that year 2625 as referring to the Era of Kali Yuga, itself, and thereby wrongly placing Śankara in the first century B. C., while all the other four Mutts are uniform in their accounts in placing him in the 6th century B. C. Section 3 deals with the 142 successors of Śankara in the Govardhana Maṭha at Jagannāth established by Śankara on Vaisākha Śukla Daśamī of the year Nala in 2617 of the Kali Yuga corres-

ponding to 484 B. C. with Śrī Padmapādāchārya or Sanandana as its first Āchārya. Section 4 similarly deals with the 73 successors of Śankara in the Śaradāpīṭha at Dwārakā established by Śankara on Māgha Śukla Saptamī in the year Sādhārana in 2611 of the Kali Yuga corresponding to 490 B. C. with Śrī Brahmasvarupāchārya or Viśvārūpa, the brother of the famous Sureśvarāchārya or Maṇḍana Miśra, as its first Āchārya. I intended to devote a fifth section to a description of the successors of Śankara in the Jyotir Maṭha at Badarikāśrama on the Himālayas established by Śankara on Pausha Śukla Pūrṇimā of the year Rākshasa in 2616 of the Kali Yuga corresponding to 485 B. C. with Śrī Tōṭakāchārya or Ānandagiri as its first Āchārya ; but I was not able to get any account whatsoever of the said Mutt. It appears that the Jyotir Mutt ceased to exist for the last two or three centuries ; and it has nothing to do with the Jōshi Mutt which now exists in its vicinity. I was told that the records of the said Advaitik Mutt were with the Mahārājah of Theri who in answer to my query has been pleased to direct me to enquire from the Paṇḍah of the temple at Badarīnāth founded by Śankara ; but he has not been pleased to furnish me with any account of the said Mutt in spite of several requisitions made to him. If any one will be pleased to furnish me with some information as to the said Jyotir Maṭha, I shall be glad to devote one more section to an account of the said Mutt, which, I am glad to hear from His Holiness Śankarāchārya of the Govardhana Mutt, is attempted to be revived. With this, the main body of the substance of Part I of the Age of Śankara closes.

As stated above, Part I consists of six Appendices. Appendix A deals with the age of Śrī Kṛishṇa, of the Mahābhārata War and of the Kali Yuga, wherein the various conflicting theories are discussed *pro* and *con*, and

the birth of Śrī Kṛishṇa is placed 105 years, and the Mahābhārata War 37 years, before the commencement of the Kali Yuga, which itself is fixed in the year 3102 B. C. Appendix B dealing with the age of Gautama Buddha and after refuting the various theories propounded by Western and Eastern scholars fixes his birth in the year 1862 B. C. and his Nirvāṇa or death in the year 1782 B.C. Appendix C deals with the chronology of the Kings of Kāshmir as given in the various Rājatarangīṇīs, and shows how they have been systematically misrepresented and misinterpreted both by Occidental and Oriental scholars, and how their interpretation must lead to the absurd result of placing Kalhana himself some 400 years after our own times, if the genuineness of Rājatarangīṇī is to be accepted. Appendix D deals with that important and vexed question as to the identity of Chandragupta Maurya with the Sandracottus of the Greek historians, first suggested by Sri William Jones, proposed by Colonel Wilford and seconded by Professor Max Muller and blindly followed by all scholars as it were an axiom that Chandragupta Maurya lived about 322 B. C. Herein is torn to pieces the so-called 'anchor-sheet' of Indian Chronology, pointing out in detail the absurdities of their arguments—how they are opposed to all Indian and Buddhistic works and traditions, and how the description of Sandracottus as given by the followers of Alexander the Great will only tally with Chandragupta (Xandramus) and his son Samudragupta (Sandracottus) of the Gupta Dynasty and how such identification will completely harmonise and perfectly accord with all the Buddhistic and Hindu traditions and accounts. Appendix E deals with the dynastic list of the Nepalese kings from the very end of Dvāpara Yuga up to a very recent date; and Appendix F deals with the dynastic list of the Kings of Magadha from the very commencement

of the Magadha kingdom by Bṛihadratha, the father of the famous emperor Jarāsandha up to the end of the Gupta Dynasty, as per the authority of the Purāṇas and Itihāsas, inscriptions and coins, and other materials.

Part II of the Age of Śankara deals with the vexed questions of the date of Śankara and of his system of Philosophy and Religion as revealed in his famous Bhāshyas or Commentaries on the Vedānta Prasthānatraya, and in his various minor works and Prakaraṇas. It consists of Ten Chapters. Chapter I deals with the review of current opinions on the date of Ādi Śankara. Chapter II shows how the year 788 A. D. the commonly accepted date for the birth of Śankara is quite untenable and unfounded. Chapter III deals with the two great Śankaras—Ādi Śankara and Abhinava Śankara—and shows how they have been confounded with each other by later biographers, and how the year 788 A. D. is really the date of the birth of Abhinava Śankara who adorned the Kāmakoṭīpīṭha at Kānchī as the 38th successor of Ādi Śankara. Chapter IV refutes all the other theories regarding the date of Ādi Śankara. Chapter V deals with the external evidence relating to the date of Śankara such as the various Śankara-Vijayas, Puṇyasloka-Manjarīs, Tāmrapatrānusāsanas, Guru-Paramparas, etc. Chapter VI deals with the internal evidence relating to the date of Śankara. Chapter VII determines the true age of Śankara by placing his birth in the year 509 B. C. and his death in 477 B.C. Chapter VIII gives a short account of the theoretical Philosophy and Religion of Śankara as revealed in his commentaries on the Upanishads, Bhagavadgītā and Brahmasūtras. Chapter IX deals with the practical Philosophy and Religion of Śankara as is evidenced by his numerous minor works—Stōtras and Prakaranas. Chapter X summarises the author's conclusion.

The second Part also contains four Appendices. Appendix A deals with the so-called Edicts and Inscriptions of Aśoka and shows how these edicts and inscriptions have nothing to do whatever with Aśoka or Aśokavardhana, the grandson of Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya Dynasty. Appendix B deals with the Lunar Dynasties of Kings. Appendix C deals with the Solar Dynasties of Kings; and Appendix D gives a short bibliographical account of all the works of Ādi Śankara.

Such then, in brief, is the description of the nature and scope of the work. The whole book is ready in manuscripts and perhaps requires a slight revision as it is being given to the press. As the whole book with illustrations would cost something like 4,000 Rupees, I thought of issuing the book in 8 parts, each part containing about 112 pages; and the publication of the whole work depends entirely upon the patronage of the philanthropic public, the Zamindars and Mahārajas: and I sincerely hope that this work, which embodies the result of my researches and labours for the last 20 years in the field of Samskrit Literature, will be patronised by all patriotic Indians by subscribing liberally for separate parts or for the whole work in advance, and in doing so, they will be doing a golden piece of service to Mother India by enabling the author to publish the whole book which will certainly disabuse the minds of several of our educated countrymen of the numerous wrong notions and ideas engendered by foreign *savants* and their followers in India, regarding the age of the greatest intellect that the world has ever produced.

'SUNDARI SADANAM,'
16, Coral Merchant St.,
MADRAS
9th October 1916.

J. H. Arayana Seshay B.A., B.L.

High Court Vakil.

भूमिका

भो भो अद्वैतमतामिमानिनो वैदिकशिखामणयः! सुविदितमेवैतत् तत्र भवतां यद्युधिष्ठिरशकस्य एक त्रिंशदुत्तरषट्छताधिकद्विसहस्रतमे (2681) संवत्सरे 2593-कल्यब्दे (509 B. C.) वैशाखशुक्लपञ्चम्यां केरलदेशे कालव्या भवतीर्थ श्रीमन्महेशज्ञानावतारमहोत्साहाः श्रीमच्छङ्करभगवत्पादाः, पद्मपादादि शिष्यगणैरन्विताः, तीर्थैरिव स्वपदकमलरजोभिर्भारतमण्डलं पावयन्तः, सदैवैरिव स्वकृतोपदेशैर्वैदिकधर्मान् संरक्षन्तः, चन्द्रकलाभिरिव षोडशभाष्यरूपाभिः कृतिसुधाधाराभि रार्यवर्या नाप्याययन्तः, कल्याणचरित्रै रत्नैरिव परःशताधिकप्रकरण रत्नै र्महीमण्डलं मखिलमपि मण्डयन्तः, सर्वत्र दिग्विजयं कृत्वा जैन बौद्धादिसर्ववादिनः पराकृत्य, सर्वान् वर्णानाश्रमांश्च कृतयुगवत् पूर्णे वैदिकाध्वनि नियोज्य, सकल वेदोपनिषत्पुराणेतिहाससारभूत मद्भूत वेदान्तदर्शन सर्वोत्कृष्टत्वेन संस्थाप्य, ब्रह्मक्षत्रादि निखिलविनेयलोकसंप्रार्थनया चतसृषु दिक्षु द्वारका-बदरी-जगन्नाथ-शृङ्गपिंक्षेत्रेषु चतस्रो धर्मराजधानीः प्रतिष्ठाप्य, तत् संरक्षणार्थं शारदा-ज्योति-गोवर्धन-शृङ्गगिरिमठेषु श्री विश्वरूप - तोटक-पद्मपाद - हस्तामलकाख्यान् चतुरः प्रधान शिष्यान् तत्तत्प्रथमाचार्यत्वेनाऽभिषिच्य, ततः काञ्च्यां, मौला-म्नायत्वेन कामकोटिपीठ निर्माप्य, तत्र स्वयमेव सर्वज्ञपीठमधिरुह्य 2625 कल्यब्दे रक्ताक्षिण्यधिवृषसितैकादशिपरे सर्वज्ञसंज्ञमुनिं समवितुं सुरेश्वरं च न्यस्य उन्मुक्तलोकस्पृहो यमिसार्वभौमो देव्याः पुरः परतरे पुरुषे विलिल्ये ।

एवं

श्रीमद्वैताचार्यविधेयः
तण्डलं-शङ्करनारायण शास्त्री.

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THE AGE OF ŚĀṆKARA

INTRODUCTION

In the whole history of Religion and Philosophy, ancient or modern, no name deserves to be written higher than that of Śāṅkara. He is beyond question "the mightiest intellect the world has ever seen." None can equal him in loftiness of soul, in calmness of spirit, in firmness of mind, or in keenness of intellect. None can vie with him in versatility of genius, in sublimity of thought, in rigidity of logic and in comprehensiveness of philosophic vision. Not even the compassionate Prince of Kapilavāstu, nor even the miraculous Carpenter of Galilee can approach this holy Ascetic of Kālaṭi in depth of Philosophy and in earnestness of Religion. The boldness of his conception, his sweeping grasp of the multifarious systems of doctrine and practice that obtained in his day, the impartiality with which he solved the national problems of his time, the wonderful adaptability of his philosophy to meet all possible interpretations of ancient texts and all possible inquiries of advancing thought, above all, the clearness of his exposition, its beauty, simplicity and unassailable reasonableness—those have been the wonder of successive generations of sages and scholars, poets and philosophers, critics and thinkers, that came after him.

Philosophy, from of old, has been defined as the search after the One in the Many, and if any one ever successfully solved the problem of "the One in the Many" in its

CORRIGENDA

PAGE 183, line 28—read Brahmaswarupacharya
for Hastamalaka.

PAGE 184, line 17—read Prithvidharacharya
for Sureswaracharya.

metaphysical as well as physical, in its ethical and religious, in its social and political applications, it is, beyond doubt, the great Śaṅkara who expounded the *Advaita Darśana* or the Philosophy of the Absolute. Philosophers from Plato to Bain are unanimous in their testimony to the elevating and alleviating influence of his philosophy. 'It is the source of much needed peace and happiness to mankind; it is the law and life of every great nation; it is the balm of all evil.' Referring to it, a great Indian scholar says: ¹ "The Absolute Philosophy is the Gospel of Nature;—Nature, not as understood by dogmatic materialism, but Nature, the source and support of all life and all love. It throws a bridge across the wide gulf of country and country, nation and nation, caste and caste, individual and individual. It melts all shadows of separateness into the substance of unity. One touch of it 'makes the whole world kin.' It puts new life in action, new meaning in words, new vitality in forms, new things in thought."

The Philosophy of Śaṅkara, and the wonderful manner in which he applied it to the practical conditions of his time have truly saved India from superstitious ritualism on the one hand and from the sceptic materialism on the other. It has, since its first exposition, exercised a magical charm over the mind of India; it has begun to exercise the same charm over the mind of the rest of the whole civilized world. It has been the Saviour of India and it is destined to be the Saviour of the World. The complete triumph of his Universal Philosophy over contending systems of thought has made him the One *Jagad-Guru*, the Universal *Achārya*, the High-Priest of Philosophy to the world in general.

¹ Vide M. N. Dvivedi's "Imitation of Śaṅkara," Introduction, p. xii.

The period when this Master-Philosopher lived is, therefore, of the most vital interest not only to the chronicler of Indian thought in particular, but to the historian of the World's Philosophy in general. His date is also of great help in fixing the dates of several other writers that lived both before and after him. It is a great pity that no critical search has yet been made about the history of Śaṅkara, about the time when he lived and wrote his wonderful commentaries on the *Prasthāna-Traya*—the *Upanishads*, the *Bhagavad-Gītā* and the *Brahma-Sūtras*—the glory of his literary activity, to say nothing of the numerous other works composed by him in prose and poetry, in elucidation of his Philosophy and Religion. Speaking of his works in general the same great Indian scholar remarks: ² "Fascinating, weird music; lucid, chaste, powerful, balanced expression; universal, unsectarian, fearless, loving exposition;—these are some of the characteristics of his varied literary style. He was a real master of the philosophy he preached; he can express it in half a verse or a quarto volume of many hundred pages. He would readily break a lance with any adversary, atheist, materialist, ritualist, magician, ascetic, *yogin* or *tāntrik*. His writings largely reflect the spirit of the age he lived in; but the magic of the master, whose wand can wield all differences into the homogeneous unity of his spell, is unmistakable throughout."

This lack of any satisfactory inquiry with regard to the age of Śaṅkara is the more to be regretted when we find that the dates of other great teachers such as Rāmānuja and Maḍḍhva ³ have been ascertained with tolerable accuracy.

² Vide M. N. Dvivedi's "Imitation of Śaṅkara," Introduction, p. ix.

³ It is quite certain that Rāmānuja was born in 1017 A. D.; and Maḍḍhva in 1119 A. D.

With regard to Śaṅkara's date few Orientalists, whether Eastern or Western, are agreed : some place him several centuries before, others several centuries after the Christian Era—just as it suits their fancy. The author of *Śukra-Nāḍī*, for instance, in his great zeal to assign as ancient a date as possible, places him 32 years before Śrī Kṛṣṇa, about 3240 B.C. ; and the author of *Kannaḍa Śaṅkara-Vijaya* similarly says he was born in the year 934 of the *Kali Yuga* corresponding to 2169 B.C. ⁴ There are others, and they are quite numerous, who think with equal zeal that all real philosophy and civilization had been ushered into the world long after the time of Christ, and place Śaṅkara, therefore, just a few centuries before our own time. Thus the author of *Dābistān* (Vol. II. p. 141) brings Śaṅkara down to 1349 A.D. The discussions of several Orientalists and their new theories based on untrustworthy records have only made confusion worse confounded. The result is that this historical question remains unsolved practically to this day. Our attempt now is *first* to review the opinions and methods of these Orientalists and show how they are untrustworthy and *secondly* to determine from the materials that we have been able to gather what date should impartially be assigned to this greatest of philosophers.

⁴ Vide *Āndhra-Bhārati*, Vol. I. Pt. I. p. 72, under the heading "*Śaṅkaruni-Jīvitamu*" by V. Ramadas Garu, B.A., B.L., and also Appendix to Kokkanḍa Venkatramana Pantulu's Telugu "*Śaṅkara-Vijaya-Dhvajamu*."

PART I

REVIEW OF CURRENT OPINIONS ABOUT THE AGE OF Ś'ĀNKARA

CHAPTER I

METHOD OF INVESTIGATION

It is by no means an easy task to settle the exact date of an ancient philosopher and writer like Śaṅkara. The question "When did a particular writer live?" presents innumerable difficulties to the historian of Indian Literature. Nor need this surprise us when we see how almost impossible it is for the historian of English Literature to ascertain the exact date of any writer before Chaucer and how the very individuality of Shakespeare has come to be questioned—though Chaucer lived but six centuries, and Shakespeare but four centuries ago. In the absence, therefore, of definite facts and figures which can be accepted as historically reliable, our only method of investigation certainly consists in bringing together all possible data and determining the hypothesis which best satisfies them.

In determining the chronology of Ancient India much valuable light is doubtless thrown by (i) Inscriptions which have been found on rocks and pillars in caves, temples, maṭhs and other buildings, (ii) Inscriptions on plates of copper found all over India, and (iii) Inscriptions on old coins unearthed in various parts of the land. Of these, the inscriptions found on copper-plates are generally more

valuable than others inasmuch as they generally contain not only the names of the grantor (who is almost always a king) and the grantee (who is similarly a philosopher, poet, or religious teacher), but also a long and often complete list of the grantor's predecessors and some details also of the family or line of the grantee. Nevertheless, without further corroborating particulars, it is difficult to identify the grantor or be sure of the date (and its *era*) which the plate may sometimes bear. Hasty inferences by several Orientalists from the apparent story of certain inscriptions have been fruitful of no little confusion and have not unfrequently misled the true direction of researches. The first Orientalists had no doubt hard intellectual feats to perform to reconcile the undeniable antiquity of Indian Civilization with the common traditions of European History which could not trace back to any civilization earlier than that of Greece, nor to a period anterior to a few centuries before the Christian Era. The most liberal minds could not, therefore, be brought to admit the possibility of any great literary achievement in India before the time of Alexander's invasion; and too much has been made of the testimony of foreign travellers, whether Greek or Chinese. We can understand, for instance, that a work or author named by Megasthenes or Hieuen Tsang had existed in or before his time; but can we infer at the same time that any not mentioned by them had not so existed—unless we grant that the Greek ambassador or the Chinese traveller came to India for the express purpose of writing out a history of the civilization and literature, of India in his time, nay had the capacity, means, time and inclination to make an exhaustive research and leave to posterity a perfectly correct record? Yet this is exactly the argument throughout used by

Alfrecht Weber in his 'History of Indian Literature' in fixing the dates of several Indian authors and works.⁵

How could Megasthenes or Hieuen Tsang, whose mission was purely political or religious, be expected to know every book and author of such a vast empire as India? Is not such expectation tantamount to crediting these foreign visitors with powers, objects and facilities that they could hardly lay pretence to or any man for that matter similarly situated? Yet this is *the* argument freely used by Western Orientalists as by their Eastern followers.

A still greater fallacy has to be noted in the readiness with which identity is generally established between the unmeaning hybrid names found in the accounts of these foreign travellers and those of famous Indian kings or writers—an identity based entirely upon partial resemblances in sound and circumstances. Inscriptions on coins have been similarly handled. For instance, from the inscription on a coin bearing the figure of a standing king in Greek costume, and some modified Greek characters and figures deciphered as 'Kanerki,' the conclusion has been drawn by Dr. Fleet and implicitly accepted by many an other Orientalist, that the 'Kanerki' of the said coin must be the 'Kanishka' of Kalhapa's *Rāja-Taraṅgiṇī*, and that he must have founded the Śaka Era of 57 B. C.⁶ The fact

⁵ Thus Megasthenes says nothing of the Great-Epic—the *Mahābhārata*—and it is "for the first time"—by a European writer we presume—mentioned by Dion Chrysostomus who flourished in the 2nd half of the 1st Century A. D., the learned Professor comes to the conclusion that the *Mahābhārata* must have been written after the commencement of the Christian Era (*Vide* his 'Indian Literature,' 3rd Edition, pp. 186-188.)

⁶ Nothing, however, like certainty has yet been arrived at with regard to the date of Kanishka. Lassen holds on the authority of this

however, is that these Orientalists have been "simply indulging in their fancy and piling conjecture upon conjecture to construct their cloud-land." They accept the authority of the Itihâsas and Purâṇas and works like Rāja-Taraṅgiṇī so far as those works support them in their theories, but tear them mercilessly to pieces—under the convenient plea of interpolations—whatever portions thereof conflict with their preconceived notions. Thus after identifying in the manner pointed out 'Kanerki' of the coin with 'Kanishka'

same coin that Kanishka reigned down to 40. A. D. (*Vide Lassen I. Ak: ii. pp. 412-413*). Miss Mabel Duff makes this Kanishka the founder of the Śaka Era of 78 A. D. (*Vide her 'Chronology of Ancient India,' p. 21.*) Mr. V. A. Smith places him in 128 A. D. (*Vide his 'Early History of India,' p. 239*); and Mr. V. Gopala Aiyar between 27 and 65 A.D. (See his article in the *Indian Review*, Nov. 1909.) On the other hand Dr. Bhandarkar places him in 278 A. D. (*Vide Smith's 'Early History of India,' p. 240.*) Dr. Fleet, in his latest publication (*J. R. A. S. 1907, p. 1048*) tells us that he arrived at this date of 57 B.C. on a tradition current in Northern India that Kanishka lived 400 years after the death of the Buddha, which he assumes to have taken place in 457 B. C. This tradition has been proved to be entirely untrustworthy. Mr. Smith refers to a number of other traditions, equally unfounded, which place Kanishka 500 years after the Buddha. He also refers to a third tradition which places Kanishka 700 years after the death of the Buddha. (*Vide his 'Early History of India, p. 241.*) On the other hand, Kalhaṇa's Rāja-Taraṅgiṇī states in very explicit terms that Buddhism was at its height in Kāśmīr during the reign of Kanishka, that he was a contemporary of Nāgārjuna, a celebrated Buddhist, and that he flourished 150 years after the death of Lord Buddha. Thus in Taranga I, verse 172, we read:

“तदा भगवतः शाक्यसिंहस्य परनिर्वृतेः ।

अस्मिन् महीलोकधातौ सार्धं वर्षशतं ह्यभूत् ॥”

which may be freely translated as follows: “Then as this king of the Earth (Kanishka) began to rule, there had elapsed 150 years since the Parānirvāṇa of Lord Buddha, the Lion of the Śākya family of kings.”

of the Rāja-Taraṅgiṇī, and on like flimsy grounds attributing to him the Śaka Era, they try to determine the date of Gautama Buddha. Now the theory that Kanishka founded the Śaka Era is opposed to all orthodox traditions held in sacred veneration by all classes of Hindus from the oldest times. Further the predecessors of Kanerki—Hermaios, Kadphises I., Gondophares, Kadphises II,—seem to be after all Greek adventurers as amply testified by their names as well as coins that bear inscriptions in the Greek language. Further the predecessors and successors of Kanishka of Rāja-Taraṅgiṇī are entirely different from those of Kanerki of the coins, where he is said to be the Ruler of Kābul. Nor could Kalhaṇa's Kanishka be placed in 57 B.C., much less in 78 A.D., inasmuch as Kalhaṇa's 'History of Kāśmīr' and its many dynasties from Kanishka down to his own time covers up at least 2362 years; and if Kanishka be placed in 57 B.C., or in 78 A.D., then Kalhaṇa, the historian will have to be placed in 2305 A.D., or in 2440 A.D.; and we are only now in 1911 A.D. ! But Kalhaṇa, everybody admits—for we have his own explicit statement to that effect—lived in the 12th Century A.D. To get over this absurdity, Orientalists have had to revise all Kalhaṇa's dates, cut short his 2362 years between himself and Kanishka to a little more or less than a thousand years—while accepting *in toto* the list of kings he gives—all this to save their pet Kanishka of 57 B.C., or other fancied date ! They would not admit that Kanishka lived 2362 years before Kalhaṇa, for then he could not be identified with Kanerki of the coin—the basis of their entire hypothesis.

It follows from what we have said that many of the dates at present received as correct are to be carried back

⁷ See Appendix A for details regarding Kalhaṇa's date.

considerably. With Kanishka of Rāja-Taraṅgiṇī, Gautama Buddha will also go back by several centuries. We have already referred to the attempt made to fix the Buddha's date from Kanishka's. Finding probably the weakness of the ground in this method, some scholars have adopted another, and tried to calculate the time of the Buddha from that of Chandragupta, the successor of the Nandas and the founder of the Maurya dynasty. For this purpose they identify Sandrakottas of the Greek writers, contemporary of Alexander the Great, with Chandragupta, the Maurya. They take 315 B.C., as the outside terminus or the starting point; and form this attempt to determine with the help of the Purāṇas and Itihāsas and Buddhistic writings, the chronology of the various Indian dynasties mentioned in them and of the Buddha's death—thus reconstructing the history of ancient India. But even if 'Sandrakottas' be rightly interpreted as Chandragupta, the Maurya, on what evidence is he to be identified with Chandragupta, the Maurya? As a matter of fact there have been a number of kings bearing that name in the ancient history of India. There were two Chandraguptas in the Gupta dynasty; another who was a contemporary of Kālidāsa, and a fourth who was a contemporary of Haṣavardhana—Bāṇa's patron. The latter appear to have been even more famous than Chandragupta, the Maurya; and how do we know that not any of the later Chandraguptas, but the Maurya alone was described by the Greeks under the name of 'Sandrakottas'?⁸ If this be granted, what becomes of the starting point of 315 B.C.?

⁸ Now according to our researches Chandragupta I, the founder of the Gupta dynasty, has to be placed about 321 B.C.: and the description given of 'Sandrakottas' by Greek writers applies on all fours only to this king, and not to Chandragupta of the Maurya dynasty. (Vide Appendix B. for further particulars.)

Indeed as Mr. Wheeler says in his 'History of India' the date of the birth of Gautama Buddha is still uncertain. On this point, Prof. Weber says in his 'History of Indian Literature,' p. 287: "With reference to the traditions as to the Buddha's age, the various Buddhist eras which commence with the date of his death exhibit the widest divergence from each other. Among the Northern Buddhists fourteen different accounts are found ranging from 2422 B.C. to 546 B.C." Even according to Chinese accounts, Gautama Buddha has to be placed before the 10th Century B.C.⁹ According to Kalhaṇa, the author of Rāja-Taraṅgiṇī, who thinks that the Mahābhārata War between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas took place 653 years after the commencement of the Kali Yuga, Gautama Buddha must be placed before the 14th Century B.C.; for he is said to have died 150 years before the reigns of the brothers Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka who lived just one generation before Gonanda III who began his reign according to Kalhaṇa about 1183 B.C. (Laukika Era 1894). But if we take for granted that the Mahābhārata War took place 37 years before the commencement of the

⁹ According to the chronology of the Chinese, the Nirvāṇa of Śakyamuni took place in 949 or 973 B.C. instead of in 543 B.C. following the chronology of the Southern Buddhists. Vide Dr. E. J. Eitel's 'Sanskrit-Chinese Dictionary'—a handbook of Chinese Buddhism, p. 139 (Hongkong, 1888) and Beal's 'Catena of Chinese Scriptures,' p. 116 (note).

¹⁰ The Mahābhārata and all the important Purāṇas uniformly hold that Śrī Kṛishṇa who was a contemporary of the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas and who had witnessed the Mahābhārata War fought between them lived for a period of over 100 years, that he passed away from this earth 36 years after the said Mahābhārata War and that the Kali Yuga commenced on the same day on which the Lord left this earth. We also learn that Parikshit was still in the womb

Kali Yuga, which appears to be a more correct view¹⁰ and which is admittedly the opinion of all the Hindu writers from the most ancient times, Gautama Buddha must be placed about 2000 B.C. This view is fully supported by all the authentic Purāṇas and Itihāsas, which are beginning to be recognised as contributing genuine historical information about Ancient India and according to which the Buddha is to be placed not later than 1800 B.C.¹¹

We have pointed out some of the defects in the methods of Western Orientalists and of their Indian followers in order to show to our countrymen how unsafe it is to rely upon the conclusions arrived at by these writers. We shall, as we proceed on, have occasion to point out several fallacies committed by them with respect to the age of Śaṅkara in particular. It is unfortunate that whenever an ancient record conflicts with any of their hasty conclusions, they should try to misinterpret or discredit the record rather than revise their own conclusions. This is the only explanation we can give of the treatment

of his mother Uttarā, when her husband Abhimanyu, the illustrious son of Arjuna by Subhadrā was killed in the Mahābhārata War, that he was 36 years old when he was placed on the throne of Hastinapura by the Pāṇḍavas, and that he ruled the earth for a period of 60 years from the beginning of the Kali Yuga. (*Vide*, for instance, Mahābhārata: Stri Parva, XXV. 39-45; Mausala Parva, I. 13, II. 19-21, III. 25-41, IV. 12-24, VI. 23, VII. 10-12, VIII. 26-28; and Mahāprasthānika Parva, I. 1-45; Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Fourth Aṁśa: XX, XXIV, 38-40, 105-115, Fifth Aṁśa: XXXVII. 18-20, XXXVIII. 8-9; Devi Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Skandha II. Ch. VIII, Skandha III. Ch. xxiii; Srimad Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Skandha XI. Ch. VI. 23-26, Skandha XII. Ch. II; Brahma Purāṇa, Ch. CCXII. 9-10; Garuḍa Purāṇa, Ch. CI; Harivamśa, III. 47-48; Sūrya-Siddhānta, Ch. I.)

¹¹ *Vide* Appendix B: The date of Gautama Buddha according to Purāṇas and Itihāsas.

accorded to the historical portions of our Purāṇas and Itihāsas, as well as to the traditions handed down from the oldest times. We so entirely agree with the late Paṇḍit N. Bhāṣyāchārya on the treatment of Oriental questions by many of the so-called *savants* that we cannot refrain from quoting a few of his observations:—

“I. The writings of many of these Orientalists are often characterised by an imperfect knowledge of Indian Literature, Philosophy and Religion and of Hindu traditions and a contemptuous disregard for the opinions of Hindu writers and Paṇḍits. Very often facts and dates are taken by these writers from the writings of their predecessors or contemporaries, on the assumption that they are correct, without any further investigation by themselves. Even when a writer gives a date with an expression of doubt as to its accuracy, his follower frequently quotes the same date as if it were absolutely correct.

* * * * *

III. It is often assumed without reason that every passage in the Vedas containing philosophical or metaphysical ideas must be looked upon as a subsequent interpolation and that every book treating of a philosophical subject must be considered as having been written after the time of the Buddha or after the commencement of the Christian Era. Civilization, philosophy and scientific investigation had their origin, in the opinion of these writers, within the six or seven centuries preceding the Christian Era, and mankind slowly emerged for the first time from the depths of animal brutality within the last four or five thousand years.

IV. It is also assumed that Buddhism was brought into existence by Gautama Buddha. The previous existence of

Buddhism, Jainism and Ārhat Philosophy is rejected as an absurd and ridiculous invention of the Buddhists and others who attempted thereby to assign a very high antiquity to their own religion. In consequence of this erroneous impression every Hindu Book referring to the doctrines of the Buddhists is declared to have been written subsequent to the time of Gautama Buddha."

(*Vide 'The Theosophist,' Vol. IV. p. 304, et seq.*)

We have certainly no desire to ignore or belittle the labours of Orientalists. We have the greatest admiration and praise for their devotion and ardour, for the enthusiasm and love they have brought to bear on the study of Indian questions. But at the same time we feel keenly that they have not completely triumphed over the difficulties and obstacles in the way of a correct understanding of the problems they have had to deal with. Their works bristle with vague theorisings, hasty conclusions and supercilious disposals of hostile opinions and facts. The result is that a good deal of what is published on the Chronology of India has to be taken *cum grano salis*, and even a tolerably accurate chronology of the various dynasties of Ancient India has yet to be sketched. This is the honest conviction to which we have arrived after a very careful and thoughtful perusal of most of the works published on the subject. On these lines, therefore, we propose to ascertain the date and identity of Śaṅkara, the author of the Commentaries on the Prasthāna-Traya, and other works,—a topic, on which we fear the researches of scholars have been unfortunately ill-directed. The evidence which we propose to admit in determining this subject may be said to be partly external and partly internal and comparative.

CHAPTER II

THE CHIEF ERAS OF INDIAN CHRONOLOGY

A good deal of the confusion and difficulty experienced in determining the dates of events in the history of Ancient India is no doubt due to the variety of Eras that have been or are current in various parts of India and the conflicting nature of opinions with respect to most of them. These opinions are fully discussed by us in a separate paper on "The Chronology of the Purāṇas and Itihāsas" to which the reader is referred for detailed facts and figures. We shall briefly reproduce here the conclusions which we have arrived therein, to avoid the constant repetition of explanations that may otherwise be felt necessary with respect to the calculations we shall have to make in the ensuing pages.

I. The *Srishtyabda*¹² of the present world commenced about 1,955,885,011 years ago, in 1,955,883, 101 B.C.

II. The *Chatur-Yuga*, made up of Kṛitā, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali, consists of 12,000 "years of gods" or 4,320,000 human or solar years. The *Kṛita Yuga* was the long "period of wandering and formation" and extended over 1,728,000 solar years. It commenced with the destruction of the Original Arctic Home of the Āryans by the last preceding Ice Age when the survivors of the evolving Āryan race were forced to roam over the northern parts of Europe and Asia in search of land suitable for new settlements. In the *Tretā Yuga*, which extended over 1,296,000 solar years, the North-Eastern branched off from the North-Western Āryan race and settled respectively north of the 'Himalayas'

¹² This is the Era of the Creation of the present world, presided over by our present Vaivasvata Manu.

and 'Hemakūṭa.' The *Dvāpara Yuga*, consisting of 864,000 solar years, was the age when the North-Eastern or Asiatic Āryans who were living together for a long time as members of one and the same race, divided themselves into two branches becoming the 'Devas' and the 'Asuras'—the Hindus and Irānians of the later times—and slowly settled themselves as two hostile nations to the east and west of the river Sindhu. By the end of this period, the greater portion of India had been 'Āryanized' by the Hindus. The *Kali Yuga*, the fourth or the present age, consists of 432,000 years of which 5,012 years had elapsed in 1911 A.D. This was the age when the Hindu Āryans after completely subjugating the whole of India took to an easy-going and luxurious life, quarrelling among themselves and subjecting the whole nation—once great and powerful—to the might and avarice of every foreign nation that came to India.

III. The *Kali Yuga* or the present age consisting of 432,000 solar years¹³ commenced in 3102 B.C. It is

¹³ Mr. Gopala Aiyar, the author of the *Chronology of Ancient India*, thinks, however, that the *Kali Yuga* originally comprised only 1000 years—or at the most only 1200 years including the *Sandhyā* and *Sandhyāmsā*—that it commenced at the winter solstice occurring in the latter part of the year 1177 B.C., that it came to an end in 177 B.C. or 24 A.D. according as we take the *Kali Yuga* last for 1000 or 1200 years, that accordingly the *Krita Yuga* or the Golden Age began in the year 178 B.C. or 25 A.D. and that the Hindus unwilling to admit that the *Krita Yuga* set in at such an early date, by a subtle explanation converted the 1000 or 1200 years allotted for the *Kali Yuga* into so many *divine* years, thereby giving it an extraordinary duration of 432,000 ordinary *human* years. In support of his new theory he mainly relies upon two passages found in *Manu Smṛiti* and *Mahābhārata*, and says that according to them the four *Yugas*—*Krita*, *Tretā*, *Dvāpara* and *Kali*—with their *Sandhyās* and *Sandhyāmsās*, consisted respectively of no more than 4800, 3600, 2400 and 1200 ordinary years of mortals. It is, therefore, necessary that we should minutely examine these two

reckoned in cycles of sixty years beginning from the 1st day of Chaitra of the year Pramāthi according to Southern

authorities upon which he relies and determine whether they refer to divine or human years when they speak of the four *Yugas* as consisting of 12000 years,—especially as he himself admits that the *Purāṇas* and all other Hindu works speak of the four *Yugas* as consisting of 12,000 divine years or 4,320,000 human years, a divine year being equal to 360 human years.

In the first place, he refers to stanzas 69 and 70 of Chapter I. of *Manu Smṛiti* and relies upon them in support of his new theory. No doubt, according to these stanzas, if we do not take into consideration what precedes and what follows them, it will be possible to hold that the *Krita*, *Tretā*, *Dvāpara* and *Kali Yugas* with their respective twilight periods consists of 4800, 3600, 2400 and 1200 years. But there is nothing in these stanzas themselves from which we can determine with certainty that the years referred to in them are ordinary human years and not divine years. In order, therefore, to determine this point, we shall quote the whole passage from the *Manu Smṛiti* and leave it to our readers to judge it for themselves. The passage runs as follows :—

“ निमेषा दशचाष्टौ च काष्ठा, त्रिंशत् ताः कलाः ।
 त्रिंशत् कला मूर्हतः स्यात्, अहोरात्रं तु तावतः ॥ ६४ ॥
 अहोरात्रे विभजते सूर्यो मानुष दैविके ।
 रात्रिः स्वप्नाय भूतानां, चेष्टायै कर्मणा महः ॥ ६५ ॥
 पित्र्ये राज्यहनी मासः प्रविभागस्तु पक्षयोः ।
 कर्मचेष्टा स्वहः कृष्णः, शुक्लः स्वप्नाय शर्वरी ॥ ६६ ॥
 दैवे राज्यहनी वर्षं प्रविभागस्तयोः पुनः ।
 अहस्तत्रोद गयनं, रात्रिः स्याद्दक्षिणायनम् ॥ ६७ ॥
 ब्राह्मस्य तु क्षपाहस्य यत्प्रमाणं समासतः ।
 एकैकशो युगानान्तु क्रमशस्तन्निबोधत ॥ ६८ ॥

astronomers. All traditions, records and writings from the oldest times are absolutely agreed on this point—that 5012

चत्वार्याहुः सहस्राणि वर्षाणान्तु कृतं युगम् ।
 तस्य तावच्छती सन्ध्या सन्ध्यांश्च तथाविधः ॥ ६९ ॥
 इतरेषु ससन्ध्येषु ससन्ध्यांशेषु च त्रिषु ।
 एकापायेन वर्तन्ते सहस्राणि शतानि च ॥ ७० ॥
 यदेतत् परिसंख्यात मादावेव चतुर्युगम् ।
 एतद् द्वादशसाहस्रं देवानां युगमुच्यते ॥ ७१ ॥
 दैविकानां युगानान्तु सहस्रं परिसंख्यया ।
 ब्राह्ममेक महर्ज्यं तावती रात्रिरेव च ॥ ७२ ॥
 तद् वै युगसहस्रान्तं ब्राह्मं पुण्य महविदुः ।
 रात्रि च तावती मेव ते ऽहोरात्रविदो जनाः ॥ ७३ ॥

(Manu-Smṛiti, Ch. I, 64-73.)

Now, in the Sacred Books of the East Series, Professor Bühler has translated these stanzas as follows :—

“64. Eighteen *Nimeshas* (twinklings of the eye) are one *Kāshṭhā*, thirty *Kāshṭhās* one *Kalā*, thirty *Kalās* one *Muhūrta*, and as many (*Muhūrtas*) one day and night.

65. The sun divides days and nights, both human and divine, the night (being intended) for the repose of created beings and the day for exertion.

66. A month is a day and a night of the Manes, but the division is according to fortnights. The dark (fortnight) is their day for active exertion, the bright (fortnight) their night for sleep.

67. A year is a day and a night of the Gods; their division is (as follows): the half year during which the sun progresses to the north will be the day, that during which it goes southwards the night.

68. But hear now the brief (description of) the duration of a night and a day of *Brahmā* and of the several ages (of the world, *yuga*) according to their order.

years of Kali have now elapsed. None of our new-fledged

69. They declare that the *Krita* age (consists of) four thousand years (of the Gods); the twilight preceding it consists of as many hundreds and the twilight following it of the same number.

70. In the other three ages with their twilights preceding and following, the thousands and hundreds are diminished by one (in each).

71. These twelve thousand (years which thus have been just mentioned as the total of the four human) ages, are called one age of the Gods.

72. But know that the sum of one thousand ages of the Gods (makes) one day of *Brahmā*, and that his night has the same length.

73. Those (only, who) know that the holy day of *Brahmā*, indeed end after (the completion of) one thousand ages (of the Gods) and that his night lasts as long, (are really) men acquainted with (the length of) days and nights.”

It clearly follows from this that the 12000 years given as the total period of the four Yugas is given by Manu in *divine* years and not in ordinary human years. This is not only the natural meaning of the passage as can be determined by common sense, but the same meaning has been given in all the seven commentaries available on Manu-Smṛiti. It is in the same terms that we find the total period of these four Yugas given in all the Purāṇas and Siddhāntas. The passage preceding stanzas 69 and 70 in which the different periods of these Yugas are given defines what is meant by a divine year, and the passage following the same explicitly states that these 12000 years which form the total period of the four Yugas are calculated in *divine* years. We are, therefore, unable to see how Manu-Smṛiti supports Mr. Gopala Aiyar in his new theory that the four Yugas consists of only 12000 human years.

Let us now see how far the Mahābhārata supports our new theorist. With regard to the age of the Yugas two references are given in the Mahābhārata. The first reference to Yugas is found in the 188th Chapter of Vana Parva. Mr. Gopala Aiyar evidently relies upon stanzas 22-27 of this chapter, but there is nothing to show that the period of 12000 years which constitute the four Yugas are calculated in ordinary human years. The commentator Nilakaṇṭha explains the

theorists have assigned any substantial reason for altering this traditional view, apart from their fanciful imaginings.

expression द्वादश साहस्री—Dvādaśa-Sahasrī—to mean 12000 years by *Deva-māna*, according to divine calculation. Further, the very next stanza declares that the 12000 years which constitute the four Yugas from one Deva Yuga, and that 1000 such Yugas constitute a day of Brahmā. It is therefore clear from this that the years in the Yugas are calculated as described, as in the Manu-Smṛiti, in *Deva-Māna* and not in *Manushya-Māna*.

The second reference to the Yugas in the Mahābhārata is found in the 231st Chapter of Santi Parva. It contains a fuller account of the various Yugas and leaves no doubt on the point in question; but our theorist conveniently omits giving any reference to the same as it clearly contradicts his view. We shall therefore quote below the passage in question and leave our readers to judge the point for themselves:

“काष्ठा निमेषा दशपञ्चचैव त्रिंशत्

काष्ठा गणयेत् कलां ताम् ।

त्रिंशत्कलाश्चापि भवेन्मुहूर्तो भागः

कलाया दशमश्च य स्यात् ॥ १२ ॥

त्रिंशन्मुहूर्ततु भवेदहश्च रात्रिश्च संख्या मुनिभिः प्रणीता ।

मासः स्मृतो रात्र्यहनीच त्रिंशत्संवत्सरो द्वादशमास उक्तः ॥ १३ ॥

संवत्सरं द्वे त्वयने वदन्ति संख्याविदो दक्षिण मुत्तरञ्च ॥ १४ ॥

अहोरात्रे विभजते सूर्यो मानुषदैविके ।

रात्रिः स्वप्नाय भूतानां चेष्टायै कर्मणा महः ॥ १५ ॥

पित्र्ये रात्र्यहनी मासः प्रविभागस्तयोः पुनः ।

शुक्लोऽहः कर्म चेष्टायां कृष्णः स्वप्नाय शर्वरी ॥ १६ ॥

दैवे रात्र्यहनी वर्षं प्रविभागस्तयोः पुनः ।

अहस्तत्रोदगयनं रात्रिः स्याद्दक्षिणायनम् ॥ १७ ॥

IV. The *Laukikābda* dates from the year 24 of Kali or 3078 B.C. It is otherwise known as *Saptarshi Era* and is traditionally used in Kāśmīr. It is reckoned by cycles of 100 years. The figures representing the centuries are generally omitted in Laukika chronology and have to be

ये ते रात्र्यहनी पूर्वं कीर्तिते दैवमानुषे ।

तयोः संख्याय वर्षाग्रं ब्राह्मे वक्ष्याम्यहःक्षपे ॥ १८ ॥

दिव्यै वर्षसहस्रैस्तु कृतत्रेतादिसंज्ञकम् ।

चतुर्युगं द्वादशभिस्तद्विभागं निबोध मे ॥ १९ ॥

चात्वार्याहुः सहस्राणि वर्षाणां तत् कृतं युगम् ।

तस्य तावच्छती सन्ध्या सन्ध्यांशश्च तथाविधः ॥ २० ॥

इतरेषु ससन्ध्येषु सन्ध्यांशेषु तत् स्त्रिषु ।

एकपादेन हीयन्ते सहस्राणि शतानिच ॥ २१ ॥

तपः परं कृतयुगे त्रेतायां ज्ञानमुत्तमम् ।

द्वापरे यज्ञमेवाहुर्दानमेकं कलौ युगे ॥ २८ ॥

एतां द्वादशसाहस्रीं युगाख्यां कवयो विदुः ।

सहस्रपरिवर्तं तद्ब्राह्मं दिवसमुच्यते ॥ २९ ॥

रात्रिमेतावतीं चैव तदादौ विश्वमीश्वरः ।

प्रलये ध्यानमाविश्य सुप्त्वा सोऽज्जते विबुध्यते ॥ ३० ॥

सहस्रयुगपर्यन्तमहर्षद्ब्रह्मणो विदुः ।

रात्रियुगसहस्रां तां तेऽहोरात्रविदो जनाः ॥ ३१ ॥

It is clear from this long passage of the Mahābhārata that the years of the various Yugas are calculated in *Deva-Māna*, and that the four Yugas, Kṛita, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali, comprise a total period of 12000 divine years, or in other words the Kali Yuga comprises 432,000 human years.

made out of the context. It is the era largely used in all the Rāja-Taraṅgiṇis. Some Orientalists hold that the Laukika Era dates from 26 Kali.

V. The *Yudhishthira* Śaka, according to all classes of Hindus, commenced 37 years before the beginning of the *Kali Yuga* in 3139 B. C., and dates from the coronation of Yudhishthira, the eldest of the five Pāṇḍava brothers at the close of the Mahābhārata War.

The Jains, Buddhists and other non-Hindus of India also use in their calculations a *Yudhishthira S'aka* which they place 468 years after the commencement of Kali or in 2634 B.C.

VI. The *S'aka Kāla* or the Śaka Era, properly so-called dates from the defeat of the Śakas by Śrī Harasha Vikramāditya of Ujjain, and it commenced 2526 years after the time of Yudhishthira,¹⁴ and must be fixed at 576 B.C., reckoning from the death of Yudhishthira which took place

¹⁴ Mr. V. Gopala Aiyar—a type of a modern Oriental Scholar—has given to us a very original date for the Kali Yuga and the Mahābhārata War. One of his very weighty arguments—which may be taken as typical of the rest—is based on a ridiculous contention and interpretation of a stanza in Kalhaṇa's Rāja-Taraṅgiṇi which gives the interval between the time of Yudhishthira and that of "*Śaka-Kāla*." The stanza runs as follows; (I. 56)—

“आसन् मघासु मुनयः शासति पृथ्वीं युधिष्ठिरे नृपतौ ।
षड्विकपञ्चद्वियुतः शककाल स्तस्य राज्यस्य ॥”

This stanza has until recently been interpreted by all classes of Hindu and European Orientalists to mean: “When Yudhishthira ruled the earth, *Manis* (the Great Bear) stood in the Nakshatra (asterism) Magha. The interval between his reign and the ‘*Śaka-Kāla*’ is 2526 years.” According to this authority *Śaka-Kāla* must be fixed 2526 years after the time of Yudhishthira and must be placed at 576 B. C., reckoning from the death of Yudhishthira which took place at about

immediately after the departure of Śrī Kṛishṇa from the world (i.e.) at about 3102 B.C. Śrī Harsha Vikramāditya of

the beginning of Kali Yuga (3102 B.C.) or at 611 B.C., reckoning from his coronation which took place about 3139 B.C. Mr. Gopala Aiyar, however, quotes this stanza in support of his contention that the *Kali-Yuga* commenced in the year 1177 B.C.—16 years after the Mahābhārata War—and not in the years 3102 B.C.—36 years after the said War—as has been hitherto uniformly held by all scholars. He, therefore, first shows his scholarship of Sanskrit Grammar and Prosody by holding that the last quarter of the above-quoted stanza does not contain the requisite number of *Mātrās* or syllabic instants, that it contains only fourteen instead of fifteen, that the expression ‘शककालः’—‘*Śaka-Kālah*’—must be a mistake—“a glaring slip”—committed by Kalhaṇa, and that the said quarter must be corrected into “शाक्यकाल स्तस्यराज्यस्य”—‘*Śākya-Kālas tasya rājyasya*.’ We simply cannot understand how Mr. Gopala Aiyar lost his head over such a plain verse. Kalhaṇa was a better poet than Mr. Gopala Aiyar and he knew that the stanza was perfectly correct. Our critic evidently forgot that the last लघु (short syllable) of a verse is equal to a गुरु (long syllable) and as such is equal to two *mātrās* or syllabic instants. The quarter in question does, therefore, contain 15 *mātrās* and is perfectly correct; whereas Mr. Gopala Aiyar's correction makes it no stanza at all—neither Ārya nor anything else! Further this stanza is found both in Āryabhatta's *Bṛihatsamhitā* and Vṛiddha Garga's work on astronomy in the very same form as we find it quoted in Kalhaṇa's *Rāja-Taraṅgiṇi*; and all these great writers must have also committed the same glaring mistake!

Then comes Mr. Gopal Aiyar's ingenuity of interpretation! It concerns the expression “षड्विक पञ्च द्वियुतः”—“*Ṣaḍ-dvika-pañcha-dvi-yutah*”—which means 2526. But according to our theorist it means 25×26. Why? Under what rule of Grammar is the compound to be so interpreted? We must point out that under no rule of Sanskrit Grammar can the expression “*Ṣaḍ-dvika-pañcha-dvi-yutah*” be possibly interpreted as meaning twenty-five times twenty-six or six hundred and fifty. It may mean 6 + 2 + 5 + 2 or perhaps 6×2 × 5×2 but certainly not 26×25. But Grammar must give place to originality! So this learned scholar thinks the expression means

Ujjayinî is mentioned by a host of writers. Kalhaṇa mentions him in his *Rāja-Taraṅgiṇī* as a contemporary of

25×26 or 650. But if he be simply content with this original interpretation without meddling with the stanza, he will have to place Yudhishṭhira 650 years before the Saka Kāla. He perfectly knew the absurdity of interpreting Saka Kāla to mean Saka of 57 B.C., or the Saka of 78 A.D. He evidently ignored Śrī Harsha Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī, the Sakāri mentioned in the *Rāja-Taraṅgiṇī* itself and nothing could have been more natural and easy than to have ascribed this 'Saka Kāla' to the defeat of the Sakas by that great Emperor; but that would not suit his purpose. He was, therefore, obliged to strain the stanza and amend the expression शककालः—'Saka-Kāla,' into शाक्यकालः—'Śakya-Kālah,' as the former stood as a stumbling block on the way of his arriving at the desired conclusion. By 'Śakya-Kālah'—his precious amendment for 'Saka-Kālah' he means the date of the death of Śākyamuni or Gautama Buddha. In other words Yudhishṭhira lived 650 years before the Buddha; and as the latter died in 548 B.C., according to Western Orientalists (which date is of course unquestionable!) Yudhishṭhira lived about 650+543 or 1193 B.C., and the Kali Yuga, therefore, commenced in 1177 B.C.!!

Such is modern scholarship. The writer has pre-conceived the date and alters and misinterprets poor Kalhaṇa just as he chooses! And all this ridiculous bungling passes now-a-days for originality and learning. Mr. Gopala Aiyar fortunately, admits that Kalhaṇa himself meant by this expression 2526, that he took Kaliyuga as having commenced in the year 3102 B.C.; and yet the *Rāja-Taraṅgiṇī* must support our critic in his very original discovery of the date of Yudhishṭhira, of the Mahābhārata War and of the Kali Yuga. But common sense and grammar would tell us that what we have stated is the correct interpretation of the stanza quoted from Kalhaṇa's *Rāja-Taraṅgiṇī*. In the first half of the stanza we are furnished with an astronomical reference that the *Munis* (Great Bear) occupied the constellation of Magha (Regulus) when Yudhishṭhira was king. This position of the Seven Rishis or Ursa Major at the time of Yudhishṭhira has been recorded in almost all the Purāṇas. The great astronomer Varāhamihira, has also recorded it in Chapter XIII of his *Bṛīhatsamhitā*. He says that the Rishis take a period of 100 years to go over each of

Hiraṇya, Mātrigupta and Pravaraṣena II. He is described as having established his supremacy over the whole of Northern India. He is said to have completely defeated the Sakas¹⁵ in a great battle, the *Saka Kāla* being founded in

the 27 Asterisms. It might be possible to calculate the time of Yudhishṭhira from the position of the Rishis with reference to this constellation alone; but to safeguard against confusion with any later or earlier conjunction of the Great Bear and Magha, the second half of the stanza mentions another method of calculation that Yudhishṭhira lived 2526 years before Saka Kāla, about which in Kalhaṇa's time there was evidently not the same ambiguity of interpretation as at present. Whatever might be his view with regard to the period when Yudhishṭhira lived, Kalhaṇa is positive that Gonanda I, the founder and the first king of Kāśmir was a contemporary of Yudhishṭhira; for he himself states in his *Rāja-Taraṅgiṇī* (I. 59-63) that he (Gonanda I) was killed by Baladeva, brother of Śrī Kṛishṇa, and his son Dāmodara I was killed by Śrī Kṛishṇa himself and that his grandson, Gonanda II, was quite a young child at the time of the Mahābhārata War. Now if we calculate 2526 years from Gonanda I, we approximately arrive at the time of Hiraṇya Mātrigupta and Pravaraṣena II, in whose time it is, that Śrī Harsha Vikramāditya, according to Kalhaṇa himself, defeated the Sakas, and established the Saka Kāla. So the expression 'Shad-dvika-paṇcha-dvi-yutah' can in no circumstances be interpreted to mean 26×25 or 650, whether we take Gonanda I as having commenced his reign 37 years before Kali or 653 years after Kali.

¹⁵ No adequate reasons have been given why the Sakas referred to in the above passage as having been defeated by Śrī Harsha Vikramāditya of Ujjain should be identified either with the Indo-Bactrians or with the Indo-Scythians. It is on the strength of this identification that Śrī Harsha Vikramāditya is placed by some Orientalists in the 1st Century B.C., and by others in the 6th Century A.D. It is surprising to learn why these Sakas should be identified with any foreign tribes that came to India after the time of Alexander the Great. The name Sakas is of frequent occurrence in ancient Sanskrit Literature. Manu says (Ch. X. 144-145) that the Sakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pāradas and Pahlavas were originally Kshatriyas, but

commemoration of the decisive victory. It was then that the title 'Vikramāditya' was applied to him—possibly at a great assembly of kings and poets—which afterwards superseded his real name of Śrī Harsha. He is said to have installed his protege, the poet Maṭrigupta—who is identified with Kālidāsa, the author of Mālavikāgnimitra, Virkamorvaśī and Śakuntala—on the throne of Kāśmīr after the death of Hiranya. He is referred to as Śakāri Vikramāditya and Śrī Harsha Vikramāditya by Rāmila and Menṭha respectively—two poets whom Rāja-sekhara places immediately after Bhāsa, a predecessor of Kālidāsa—whose works Maniṣṭha

became outcasts by neglecting their Vedic duties, etc. The Mahābhārata (Ādi parva, Ch. 85) speaks of these tribes as descendants of Kshatriyas and having taken part in the Great War between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas. The Rāmāyana of Valmiki (Bālakāṇḍa, Sarga 56) mentions them among the tribes who fought during the war of Viśvāmitra with Vasishṭha. The Gautama Dharma Sūtra (Ch. IV, 21) speaks of the Sakas, Yavanas, etc., as a *Pratiloma* caste of the Āryas. It is stated in the Padma Purāna (Svarga-khaṇḍa, Ch. 15) that the Sakas etc were driven out by King Sagara, a descendant of Ikshvāku, to the countries beyond the borders of India, after getting their heads etc., shaved under the advice of Vasishṭha, although they were Kshatriyas. Vishnu Purāna (Aṁśa II. Ch. 3) describes the Yavanas as living in the west, the Sakas in the north-west, the Kirātas in the east, and the four Indian castes in the middle of India during the time of the Great War. The Matsya Purāna also refers to Sakas, Yavanas, etc., as degraded Āryan tribes living on the frontiers or Bhārata Varsha. Pāṇini refers in his Ashtādhyāyī (II. 2-84) to Sakas and Yavanas and requires शक to be placed before यवन; and Pāṇini even according to Western Orientalists lived long before the time of Alexander the Great. The Sakas, therefore could under no circumstances be identified with any foreign tribes that invaded India after Alexander's time. Although the same thing has to be said with regard to the Yavanas, it has to be admitted that the term denoted a foreign tribe in the later Sanskrit Literature; but the same thing could not be said of the Sakas who were always understood to be a sub-division of the Āryas.

and Hayagrīvavadha throw so much light on the age of Śaṅkara as well, that they, will be referred to later on. There is no doubt, therefore, of the Śaka Kāla being founded by Śrī Harsha Vikramāditya, and it cannot be assigned any date later than 576 B.C.

VII. The Era of Śrī Harsha dates from 457 B.C., just 400 years before the Samvat or Vikrama Era founded by another Vikramāditya; and may be taken roughly to indicate the *terminus ad quem* of the suzerainty of Śrī Harsha Vikramāditya. Alberuni,¹⁶ the celebrated Mahomedan historian also speaks of the existence of a

¹⁶ Vide Alberuni's 'India' by Dr. Edward C. Sachau, Vol. II. Ch. XLIX: At page 7, Alberuni says "Now the year 400 of the Yazdagird—the gaugeyear—corresponds to the following years of the Indian Eras:—

1. To the year 1488 of the Era of Sriharsha,
2. To the year 1088 of the Samvat or the Vikrama Era,
3. To the year 953 of the Era of Śalivahana.

Again at page 5, we have "The year 4132 before the gauge-year is the epoch of Kali Kāla." Further on Alberuni says "The Navroz or the New year's day of the Persian year 400 (the gauge-year) fell on the 9th March 1031 A.D." Thus the Era of Sriharsha, according to Alberuni, falls about 457 B.C., 400 years before the Samvat or the Vikrama Era, and that the Kali Yuga dates from 3102 B.C. This Era of Sriharsha has been largely current in Nepāl and other places. A good deal of confusion has been introduced into the Chronology of the dynasties of kings that ruled at Nepāl by Dr. Fleet and other Orientalists by mistaking the Harsha Era given in some of the copper plates as referring to an Era supposed to have originated with Harshavardhana Śilāditya of Kanauj who lived about 606-7 A.D. Thus in a Charter of Parama Bhattaraka Mahārājādhiraja Śivadevavarma, who is the 27th king of the 5th or the Sūryavamśi dynasty of Nepāl kings, the date is given as Harsha Samvat 119, and our Orientalists at once

Harsha Era in Nepāl and other Northern countries, 400 years anterior to the Samvat or Vikrama Era.

VIII. The Vikrama Era ascribed to a Vikramāditya of Mālava dates from 57 B.C. It is otherwise known as Samvat Era or Mālava Era.¹⁷

IX. Śālivāhana Era¹⁸ ascribed to king Śālivāhana of Prasthāna dates from 78 A.D.

assume the Harsha Samvat to be an Era founded by Harshavardhana, and take it as equivalent to 119+A.D. 606-7=725-726 A.D. and say that the Nepāl Vamsāvali which places him about 338 B.C., calculated according to the dates given in Kali Yuga, must be a mistake. Whereas, if we take the Harsha Era as referring to this Harsha Era spoken to by Aiberuni, Śivadevavarma will have to be placed 457 B.C.—119=338 B.C., which exactly tallies with the Nepāl Vamsāvali as given in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIII. pp. 411-423, by Paṇḍit Bhagavān Indrājī, Ph. D. Thus for instance, the Nepālese Chronology distinctly says that the first king of the Sūryavamśi dynasty came to the throne in the year 1389 of the Kali Yuga or 1712 B.C. But then these Orientalists calculating from their imaginary date assigned to Śivadeva Varma, place Vṛishadeva Varma, the contemporary of Śrī Saṅkarāchārya in the 6th Century A.D., whereas according to the Nepālese Chronology, and also according to our calculation taking Śivadeva Varma as reigning in 338 B.C., Vṛishadeva Varma, who was the 18th king of the Sūryavamśi dynasty, will have to be placed about 500 B.C. Farther, as a matter of fact, the 23rd king, Vasantadeva is expressly said to have been crowned in Kali 2800 or 301 B.C., and Vṛishadeva Varma could, therefore, under no circumstances be placed later than Vasantadeva.

¹⁷ It is a Luni-Solar year and is in common use in Hindustan. Its epoch begins when 3044 years of the Kali Yuga had expired.

¹⁸ The beginning of this Era, commonly known as Śakābda in Southern India dates from the birth of Śālivāhana who is said to have reigned many years over the kingdom of Narasinga and to have been a liberal encourager of the arts and sciences. The years are called Śaka and are common solar years.

X. The Kollam Era¹⁹ is said to commence from the foundation of Kollam (Quilon) and dates from 825 A.D.

These are the chief Śakābdas or Indian Eras²⁰ that are or have been current at different terms in different parts of India. In the following pages we shall have occasion to make use of many of these eras; as different works calculate according to different Eras; and in trying to ascertain the

¹⁹ It is also known as the Era of Paraśurāma and is used in that part of the Peninsula of India called Malayala (Malabar) by the natives, extending from Mangalore through the provinces of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore to Cape Comorin. According to approved tradition, it derives its name from the foundation of Kerala by Paraśurāma in 3176 B.C., and is reckoned by cycles of 1000 years, and the present or the sixth cycle began in the year 1825 A.D. It is a solar year commencing on or about the 14th August of each year. But the people of Malabar take it as commencing from 825 A.D., and the present year 1911 A.D. is written as 1087 of the Kollam Era.

²⁰ There are many other Eras which are or have been current in different parts of India. Some of them merely mark the beginning of the reigns of kings or dynasties of kings. To facilitate reference, we give below, a few of these eras. The present year Virodhakṛit which is the 45th year of the cycle of 60 years beginning from Prabhava according to Southern School of Astronomers, commences on Thursday the 13th day of April 1911 and corresponds to the years of the following Eras :—

- (1) The year 1,955,885,013 of the present Spishtyabda,
- (2) The year 5211 of Bārhadraṭhābda (of Magadha),
- (3) The year 5117 of Śrī Kṛishṇa Jananābda,
- (4) The year 5091 of Bārhaspatyamāna Shashtyabda, founded by Gonand I (of Kāśmir),
- (5) The year 5050 of Yudhishṭhirābda of the Hindus.
- (6) The year 5026 of Sauramāna Shashtyabda, founded by Yalambara (of Nepāl)
- (7) The year 5014 of Śrī Kṛishṇa Niryaṇābda,
- (8) The year 5013 of Kalyābda, or Pārikṣhitābda,
- (9) The year 4989 of Laukikābda founded by Gonanda II (of Kāśmir),
- (10) The year 4545 of Yudhishṭhirābda of the Jains, etc.,

date of any writer from references in older Hindu books, we have to be careful about the chronology explicitly or implicitly followed by the writers of the books in question.

- (11) The year 4036 of Pradyotābda (of Magadha),
- (12) The year 3871 of Saibunagābda (of Magadha),
- (13) The year 3830 of Tṛitiya Gonandābda (of Kāśmir),
- (14) The year 3778 of Paśuprekshadevābda (of Nepāl),
- (15) The year 3623 of Bhūmavarmābda (of Nepāl),
- (16) The year 3511 of Nandābda (of Magadha),
- (17) The year 3327 of Mauryābda (of Magadha),
- (18) The year 3011 of Suṅgābda (of Magadha),
- (19) The year 2828 of Pratāpādityābda (of Kāśmir),
- (20) The year 2712 of Kāṇvābda (of Magadha),
- (21) The year 2667 of Āndhrābda (of Magadha),
- (22) The year 2636 of Meghavāhanābda (of Kāśmir),
- (23) The year 2487 of Śaka Kāla or the Defeat of the Śakas,
- (24) The year 2368 of Śriharshābda (of Ujjain),
- (25) The year 2236 of Guptābda (of Magadha),
- (26) The year 2212 of Vasantadevābda (of Nepāl),
- (27) The year 2012 of Aṁśuvarmābda (of Nepāl),
- (28) The year 1968 of Vikramābda (of Mālava),
- (29) The year 1834 of Śalivāhanābda (of Prasthāna),
- (30) The year 1612 of Viradevābda (of Nepāl),
- (31) The year 1310 of Karkotābda (of Kāśmir),
- (32) The year 1305 of Harshavardhanābda (of Kanauj),
- (33) The year 1224 of Pratāparudrābda (of Orangal),
- (34) The year 1189 of Guṇakāmadevābda (of Nepāl),
- (35) The year 1161 of Sadāsivadevābda (of Nepāl),
- (36) The year 1086 of Kollābda (of Malabar),
- (37) The year 1056 of Utpalābda (of Kāśmir),
- (38) The year 1031 of the Nepālābda
founded by Jayadevamalla (of Nepāl),
- (39) The year 1021 of Nārāyaṇadevābda (of Nepāl),
- (40) The year 972 of Yaśaskaradevābda (of Kāśmir),
- (41) The year 908 of Prathama Lodhrābda (of Kāśmir),
- (42) The year 897 of Bhojadevābda (of Dhārā),
- (43) The year 810 of Dvitiya Lodhrābda (of Kāśmir),
- (44) The year 611 of Rāmadevābda (of Devagiri),
- (45) The year 587 of Harisihmadevābda (of Nepāl),
- (46) The year 383 of Kṛṣṇarāyābda (of Vijayanagara),
- (47) The year 143 of Pṛithvi Nārāyaṇābda (of Nepāl),

CHAPTER III

MAIN INCIDENTS OF SANKARA'S LIFE.

There have been many Śaṅkarāchāryas all over the Advaitic Maṭhs in India and many of them have been famous writers of works on the Advaita Philosophy and Religion. In the Kāmakoti-Piṭha alone, one of the five Maṭhs established by Ādi Śaṅkarāchārya and originally located at Kānchi (Conjeeveram), but subsequently removed to Kumbhakonam, there have been up to this time 68 Āchāryas, who all bore the title of Śri Śaṅkarāchārya, and among whom there have been no less than eight Āchāryas who also actually bore the name of Śaṅkara. Of these latter again, the 38th Āchārya was, in addition considered, like the First Śaṅkarāchārya, an incarnation of Śiva, possessed of a genius and personality in no way inferior to those of his illustrious predecessors, so much so that he has been by later writers identified with the First Śaṅkarāchārya himself, the greatest of the Expounders of the Advaita Philosophy and Religion. This identity in name, in title, in function, in status and in views has given room to no small confusion between the Ādi Śaṅkarāchārya and his successors. There are innumerable works, large and small, which go under the name of Śaṅkarāchārya, and it is really impossible at this distant period of time to determine with certainty which of them were the handworks of Ādi Śaṅkarāchārya, and which were written by his successors. But it is really fortunate that all scholars should uniformly agree in ascribing the Bhāṣyas on the Prasthāna-Traya to the First Śaṅkarāchārya or to Śaṅkara as we shall call him hereafter. It is also a matter of great satisfaction to us to find that we have sufficient materials for determining the main incidents of his remarkable life.

On the life of Śaṅkara, we have no less than ten Śaṅkara-Vijayas or Biographies of Śaṅkarāchārya, purporting to have been written by the followers of his school of Philosophy; and these may be mentioned in the following order according to their probable date of composition:—

(1) The Śaṅkara-Vijaya of Śrī Chitsukhāchārya one of the direct disciples and co-students of Śaṅkara, known under the name of Bṛihat Śaṅkara-Vijaya;

(2) The Śaṅkara-Vijaya of Ānandagiri, the well-known commentator of the Bhāṣhyas and Vārtikas of Śaṅkara and Sureśvara, known under the name of Prāchīna Śaṅkara-Vijaya;

(3) The Śaṅkara-Vijaya of Vidyāśaṅkara or Śaṅkarānanda, the author of Ātma Purāṇa and of the Dipikās on the Upanishads, Bhagavadgītā and Brahmasūtra, known under the name of Vyāsāchaliya;

(4) The Śaṅkara-Vijaya of Govindanātha, one of the Paṇḍits of Kerala, known under the name of Āchārya Charita or Keraliya Śaṅkara-Vijaya;

(5) The Śaṅkara Vijaya of Chūḍāmaṇi Dikshita, the author of many Sanskrit poems and dramas, known under the name of Śaṅkarābhyudaya;

(6) The Śaṅkara-Vijaya of Anantānandagiri known under the name of Guru Vijaya or Āchārya-Vijaya;

(7) The Śaṅkara-Vijaya of Vallisahāyakavi, one of the adherents of the Śṛīṅagiri Maṭha, known under the name of Āchārya Digvijaya;

(8) The Śaṅkara-Vijaya of Sadānanda, also an adherent of the Śṛīṅagiri Maṭha, known under the name of Śaṅkara Digvijaya Sāra;

(9) The Śaṅkara-Vijaya of Chidvilāsa, also an adherent of the Śṛīṅagiri Maṭha, known under the name of Śaṅkara Vijaya Vilāsa;

(10) The Śaṅkara-Vijaya of Mādhava, also an adherent of the Śṛīṅagiri Maṭha, known under the name of Samkshepa Śaṅkara Vijaya.

Besides these various Śaṅkara Vijayas, we have a number of Punyasloka-Maṅjaris and **Guru-Paramparās* preserved by the various Advaitic Maṭhs in which we have a brief account of the chief incidents of Śaṅkara's life recorded by his own immediate disciples. We have also a brief reference to Śaṅkara's wonderful life recorded in an indirect manner in Gauḍapadollāsa, Harimisriya, Patañjali-vijaya, Brihad Rajatarāṅgini, Hayagrivavadha, Maṇiprabhā Gururatanmālikā, Sushumā, Vimarśa and other works. Of these works, the last three are of invaluable interest to the historian of Śaṅkara and the Tāmrapatṛānuśasana issued by King Sudhanvan of Dvārakā, one of the royal disciples of Śaṅkara and published in Vimarśa by His Holiness, the present Śaṅkarāchārya of the Dvārakā Maṭha contains a brief and authentic account of the life of Śaṅkara. There are also hostile references to the life of Śaṅkara in the works of the Jainas, Mādhhvas and Vāishnavas, such as *Jina-Vijaya*, *Mādhhva-Vijaya*, *Maṇi-Manjari*, etc. Though in some of the later Śaṅkara-Vijayas and in the works of those hostile religionists abovementioned, the lives of many of the Śaṅkarāchāryas—especially the life of Ādi Śaṅkara of Kālāṭi and that of Abhinava Śaṅkara of Chidambaram—are blended together by ascribing the incidents of the life of these to one and the same person, it is still quite possible to separate and distinguish the main incidents of the life of Ādi Śaṅkara, the admitted author of the Bhāṣhyas on the Prasthāna-Traya from those of his successors and our

* "Guruparampara Namamala of Govardhana Mutt" is in our possession—Ed.

attempt in the present chapter is simply to sketch in brief the main incidents of the life of this Śaṅkara.

We are told by Śaṅkara himself in his preface to his masterly commentary on the Bhagavad-Gita, that the Almighty and Omniscient Lord with a view to secure the well-being and happiness of the animate and inanimate world that He brought into existence at the beginning of Creation, produced Marichi and other Prajāpatis on the one hand, and Sanaka and other Kumāras on the other and taught them respectively the two paths of Dharma described in the Karmakāṇḍa (Samhitās and Brāhmanas) and Jñānakāṇḍa (Upanishads) of the Vedas, the Pravṛtti-Mārga and Nivṛtti-Mārga—the Path of Action and the Path of Knowledge—the one leading to temporal and ephemeral prosperity and the other to spiritual and eternal bliss. As time went on, these two paths of Dharma, which were being trodden for ages, came, however, gradually to be neglected as men became more and more engrossed in their temporal concerns, and thought less and less of their spiritual interests; so that the real sense of the Vedas was lost and unrighteousness prevailed all over the land. The Lord said: “Whenever, Oh Bhārata! righteousness is on the decline and unrighteousness assumes predominance, I come forth Myself to protect the good, to punish the wicked and to establish Dharma on a strong foundation. Thus do I appear from age to age.” In accordance with this, His gracious promise, the Unborn and Eternal Lord incarnated Himself as Śrī Kṛishna in the interval of time between Dvāpara Yuga and Kali Yuga, in the house of Vasudeva, in the womb of Devakī, and re-established Dharma on earth. Out of pure mercy He, then, proclaimed to mankind the knowledge of the two paths of Pravṛtti and Nivṛtti

in His Divine Song—the Bhagavad-Gita—in the shape of the eighteen wonderful discourses addressed to Arjuna.

As the Age of Kali advanced, Virtue once more began to wane and Vice in all its hideous forms began to spread over the land, entailing untold miseries upon mankind. With a view to avert these miseries, men of intelligence like Jaimini and Buddha began to unfold the teachings of the Vedas to persons of their respective times, giving exclusive prominence to *Karma* on the one hand and *Viññāna* on the other, so that in course of time in the hands of their ignorant followers who were men of narrow views, even their pure teachings were calculated to lead men to atheism, immorality and consummate hypocrisy. The two paths of Dharma taught by the Lord were again in imminent danger of having their past wiped out from history under the formidable influence of Blind Ritualism of the Brāhmaṇa Tāntrikas on the one hand and of Dry Formalism of the Bauddha Free-thinkers on the other.

Minds like Patañjali and Bādarāyaṇa had already pointed out in their Sūtras—the Yogadarśana and Vedāntadarśana—that the salvation of the Vedic Dharmas lay in the recognition of inaction in action, of unity in diversity. Since the time of Patañjali, a new school of Philosophers was springing up at Badarikāśrama on the Himālayas under the guidance of Bādari and his son Bādarāyaṇa, the author of the Brahma Sūtras. Śuka Yogindra, Gauḍapādāchārya and Govinda Bhagavatpāda who came in that school had already found that the true ideal of the Vedas was concealed in the Absolute Philosophy of the Upanishads and that the reconciliation of the various conflicting theories of Vedic Philosophy as well as of Non-Vedic Philosophy, depended upon the distinction between

the Parā and Aparā Vidyās of the Upanishads. But it required a born genius, a master-mind, an inspired teacher, to enlarge upon these materials, to lay hold of the esoteric Vidyās spoken of in the Upanishads, to emphasize the distinction between Karma and Jñāna, to proclaim to the world the truth of the Absolute Philosophy of the Vedānta for the purpose of saving the country from running headlong into political chaos, intellectual ruin and spiritual perdition. It was at such a time that the Divine Śaṅkara made his appearance on the earth.

In the ancient *agrahara* of Kālāṭi resplendent with the temples of Śrī Govinda and Śrī Vṛishādrinātha—of the Gods Hari and Hara—on the northern bank of the Chūrṇi (Alavoi) river, in the enchanted country of Kerala, in the sacred land of Paraśurāma, there lived a pious Brāhmaṇa pair by name Sivaguru and Āryāmbā, of the family of Vidyādhirāja, famous for their great learning and wealth. The husband and wife, though possessed of all other blessings, had no issue for a long time. But the grace of the God Vṛishādrinātha, in the all-auspicious Nandana Samvatsara of the year 2593 of the Kali Yuga (corresponding to 509 B.C.), on a Sunday (Bhānu Vāsara) when the Sun was on its Northern Path (Uttarāyaṇa), on the 5th day (Pañchami Tithi) of the Bright Half (Śukla Paksha) of the month of Vaiśākha (May-June), in the asterism Punarvasu under the sign Sagittarius of the Zodiac (Dhanur Lagna), was born, in a miraculous manner, a wonderful male child from the sacred womb of Āryāmbā, the dutiful wife of Sivaguru. Being exceedingly delighted at the sight of this marvellous child of wonderful lustre and complexion like that of God Śaṅkara, bearing a mark like the digit of the moon on the top of the head, a dimple like the eye in the centre of the forehead, and a mole like the trident on each of the shoulders the

father gave him the name of Śaṅkara. He was true to his name inasmuch as he was the embodiment of the blessings of Śaṅkara and a source of immense joy to every one who saw him. The young Śaṅkara grew up possessed of singular personality and precocious intelligence which led people to think of him as an actual incarnation of Śaṅkara, the God of Wisdom Himself.

The child exhibited such uncommon intelligence even at the time of his first *Abda-pūrti*, the father felt the necessity of initiating him into the mysteries of the Alphabet by celebrating his *Aksharābhyāsa* as soon as he reached his third year. It is said of the young boy that he was an *Ekaśrutidhara* and that he could repeat any work as soon as he went through it even once. Chitsukhāchārya, one of his co-pupils who became his constant companion and trusted disciple afterwards, informs us that young Śaṅkara learnt all the branches of the secular literature including grammar and rhetoric in less than two years and that his father had to invest him with the sacred thread in the very commencement of his fifth year by performing his *Upanayana* so that he may be duly introduced into the study of the Vedas and of other sacred literature. Not only on account of his innate genius and extra-ordinary learning, but also on account of his genial disposition and kind heart, the boy Śaṅkara soon became the chief object of admiration and attraction in Kālāṭi and its neighbourhoods. A large number of students, young and old, already began to gather around him as his pupils to learn the wisdom of the Vedas from his eloquent lips and the Bālabodha Saṅgraha said to have been composed by him in his sixth year remains to this day as a standing monument of the wonderful feats of intellect of this young Śaṅkara. His biographers tell us that on one of these days while he was studying in his

Gurukula, he went into a poor Brāhmaṇs house, as was usual with Brahmachārins, to receive his Bhikshā, and the poverty-stricken Brāhmaṇi—the mistress of the house—not being able to give him any substantial alms, brought and gave an *Amalaka* (a fruit of the Emblic Myrobalan) to young Saṅkara as a humble token of her contribution towards the *Bhikshā*; and that the latter was so much moved at the sight of her poverty, he prayed to the Goddess of Wealth by composing his famous Kanakadhārā Stotra and had her house filled with showers of gold *Amalakas*.

Young Saṅkara thus became proficient in the whole field of Āryan Literature before he reached his eighth year. His intellect began almost intuitively to perceive in each part of the Veda as he was taught, the central doctrine of the Unity of the Absolute Existence on which his *Advaita Darśana* or the Philosophy of the Absolute was to be built. But the poor father had not the happiness to see his son accomplish this grand object of his mission. In the beginning of the eight year of Saṅkara, while he was still engaged in his studies, the aged Sivaguru passed away from this world. This sad event merely helped to guide his innate tendency and he soon formed within himself a resolution to renounce the world and become a Sannyāsin. It was the great reverence he had for the departed soul of his worthy father whose funeral ceremonies he had to perform, and the extreme affection that he had for his loving mother who bewailed her sad fate, that prevented him from taking this course for a period of one year. No sooner did he finish his *Paitṛimedhika-karma* by performing his father's first annual ceremony (*Śrāddha*) than he began to persuade his mother who was most sorry for her loneliness during the remainder of her life to willingly give her consent

to his becoming a Sannyāsin. The incident of the crocodile, which is said to have caught him by his foot while bathing in the river Chūrñi with his aged mother, furnished him with a splendid opportunity in getting the needed permission and the mother at last allowed her son to adopt the vow of asceticism, as a case of *Apat-Sannyasana* and declared him a Sannyāsin. No sooner was he so declared than the crocodile left him and he emerged from the water as a declared Sannyāsin. Thus after assuring his mother that he would always be ready to attend to her spiritual wants Saṅkara entered the holy order of Sannyāsins by renouncing the world while still quite a lad of nine years, thereby transferring the sphere of his activity from the narrow limits of his simple homestead and village to the wide expanse of interesting humanity and the world.

The young ascetic, after repeating his promise to his mother, left Kālāṭi, all alone, in search of a Guru with a view to get himself formally initiated into *Krama-Sannyāsa*. It is said that just before Saṅkara left Kālāṭi, God Achyuta appeared to him in a dream, blessed him in his journey and directed him to go to Govinda Bahavadpāda to get himself formally initiated into Sannyāsa; and it was at this time that Saṅkara composed his famous *Achyutāshṭaka*. On his way he passed through Gokarṇa, an ancient city on the West Coast, where he was joined by Viṣṇuśarman²¹ one of

²¹ He is the famous Chitsukhchārya who came to the Pīṭha of the Dvārakā Maṭha, as the successor of Śrī Brahmasvarūpachārya, in the year 2691 of the Yudhishṭhira Śaka corresponding to 2654 of the Kali Yuga (448 B.C.) and attained his Brahmibhava on Pausa Śukla Tṛitīya of the year 2715 of the Yudhishṭhira Śaka, corresponding to the year 2678 of the Kali Yuga (424 B.C.) at the advanced age of 80 years. He himself states in his Saṅkara-Vijaya in the first or

his co-students at Kālaṭi while he was studying in his Gurukula, who thereafter became one of his immediate and trusted disciples under the name of Chitsukha. He wandered with him long in Northern India until he came in contact with Govinda Yogin at Amarakānta on the bank of the Narmadā, where he was waiting with his son Bhartṛihari and with some of his select disciples to receive the young

Upodghāta Prakaraṇa, that he was a native of Gokarṇa in Kerala, that he became acquainted with Śaṅkara even while he was a boy of five years reading in his Gurukula, that he had very high admiration for his superior talents and extraordinary knowledge of all the Vaidika and Laukika lore even before he took the permission of his mother to become a Sannyāsin, that he followed Śaṅkara when he went in search of a Guru to get himself formally initiated into Sannyāsa, that he never departed from Śaṅkara from the time he left his native place until he attained his marvellous Brahmibhāva at Kāñchi in the temple of the Goddess Kāmākshī. In fact, he was an eye-witness of the life and doings of Śaṅkara from start to finish, and one of his direct disciples, being himself older than Śaṅkara by five years. In his biography of Śaṅkara, which is known to the later writers, on account of its bulk, under the name of Bṛihat Śaṅkara Vijaya or Guru Śaṅkara Vijaya, he has given a full account of the lives of Śaṅkara and Sureśvara and of the various works they had written. Excepting the Bhashyas which are simply referred to, almost all the minor works of Śaṅkara are collected and given in his work with the occasion on which they were composed. (The book has been evidently divided into three parts, (I) Pūrvāchārya Satpatha, (II) Śaṅkarāchārya Satpatha and (III) Sureśvarāchārya Satpatha; but we have been able to get a mutilated copy of the work containing only Śaṅkarāchārya Satpatha.) It is a pity that the work has not been as yet completely collected and printed in any part of India. Śaṅkara Vijaya Vilāsa attributed to one Chidvilāsa Yati appears to be a mere re-production and imitation of Chitsukhāchārya's large work by a modern writer, with certain omissions, additions and alteration to suit his own private ends. Chitsukha also appears to be the author of Chitsukhī, an important work on Vedānta.

ascetic Śaṅkara, having been previously ordained by the Lord to initiate him into regular asceticism.

From the most ancient times there have been in the various parts of India, recognised seats of learning for each school of Indian Philosophy, sanctified with the name of some great teachers. The ancient schools of ²² *Vaiśeṣhika*,

²² Although it is difficult to ascertain when each of the six well-known Darśanas or Orthodox schools of Indian Philosophy exactly came into existence, we can easily assert that those Darśanas came into existence in the following order, as we can trace a consistent development of thought from one to the other :—

- I. The Vaiśeṣhika Darśana of Kaṇāda,
- II. The Nyāya Darśana of Gautama,
- III. The Sāṅkhya Darśana of Kapila,
- IV. The Yoga Darśana of Patañjali,
- V. The Mīmāṃsā Darśana of Jaimini, and
- VI. The Vedānta Darśana of Bādarāyaṇa.

With regard to the non-orthodox systems Philosophy we are of opinion that they came into existence in the following order :—

- I. The Lokāyatika Darśana of the Chārvākas,
- II. The Arhata Darśana of the Jainas,
- III. The Tathāgata Darśana of the Bauddhas,
- IV. The Pāñcharātra Darśana of the Bhāgavatas.
- V. The Pāsupata Darśana of the Śaktas

The last three Darśanas—the Pāñcharātra, the Pāsupata and the Kaula—are clearly developments upon the Yoga Darśana, the Mīmāṃsā Darśana and the Vedānta Darśana, giving prominence to Bhakti (Devotion), Karma (Action) and Jñāna (Knowledge) respectively with, of course, a fusion of the Brahman theory of the Upanishads with a belief in a personal Highest Being. According to the last, Brahman carries within its own nature an element from which the material universe originates, but according to the first two, it is only the operative cause. All these systems of philosophy were in existence at the time of Śaṅkara when he wrote his famous Bhashya on the Vedānta Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa wherein he has refuted the doctrines of all these other Darśanas and of their subdivisions.

Nyāya and *Sāṅkhya* philosophies founded respectively by the great sages Kaṇāda, Gautama and Kapila, which had hitherto exercised authority as independent masters in the field of Indian Thought, had now sunk to the low position of bond-slaves to the Lokāyatika, Jaina and Bauddha Darśanas—the three great unorthodox schools of philosophy that prevailed in India at about the beginning of the 10th Century B.C. To counteract the evil effects of these unorthodox schools of philosophy which were dragging India into the most alluring chance of running on the path of utter denationalization and ruin, and to restore the Sanātana Dharma to its pristine purity as taught in the Śrutis and Smṛitis with the aid of those three ancient schools of orthodox philosophy, three other great schools of Orthodox Philosophy were founded by three great eminent sages about the close of the 10th Century B.C., under the names of *Yoga Darśana*, *Mīmāṃsā Darśana* and *Vedānta Darśana*. Each of these schools had its recognised seat of learning, where its traditional interpretations have been treasured up and handed down by oral teaching to generations of earnest and faithful students.

Of all these schools of philosophy, the most important and authoritative was the Vedānta Darśana founded by Bādarāyaṇa,²³ son of Bādari, at Badarikāśrama on the

²³ It is a great pity that Bādarāyaṇa, the author of the Vedānta Sūtras is generally identified with Kṛishṇa Dvaipāyana or Veda Vyāsa the compiler of the Vedas and the author of the Mahābhārata. Bādarāyaṇa in his Vedānta Sūtras quotes and refutes the doctrines of almost all the other schools of Indian Philosophy including those of the Lokāyātikas, Jains and Bauddhas and he cannot, therefore, be identical with Kṛishṇa Dvaipāyana who was a contemporary of Śrī Kṛishṇa and the Paṇḍavas and who lived in the interval of time between Dvāparayuga and Kaliyuga, at about 3102 B.C. Further

Himalayas. He found that the existing schools of philosophy—both orthodox and unorthodox—were in some way or other opposed to the true spirit of the Śrutis and Smṛitis as handed down by Veda Vyāsa or Kṛishṇa Dvaipāyana, the compiler of the Vedas and the author of the Mahābhārata. He at once understood that the true ideal of the Śrutis lay in the unity of the Infinite in man and the Infinite in nature and that this was fully declared and established

Bādarāyaṇa quotes from Patañjali, the renowned author of the Mahābhāshya on Pāṇini's Vyākaraṇa and he is also accredited as having written the Bhāshya on Patañjali's Yuga Sūtras. As Patañjali's date is fixed between the 10th and the 9th Century B.C.; (Vide 'Age of Patañjali' by the late Pandit N. Bhāshyāchārya) Bādarāyaṇa can, under no circumstances, be placed before the 10th Century B.C. Moreover, Bhagavadgītā, which forms a portion of the Mahābhārata written by Veda Vyāsa is quoted as an authority by Bādarāyaṇa in his Vedānta Sūtras under the name of Smṛiti, but this could hardly be the case if the author of both these works—the Bhagavadgītā and the Vedānta Sūtras—were one and the same. Veda Vyāsa's patronymic name is Kṛishṇa Dvaipāyana and he is said to be the son of the great sage Parāśara by Satyawatī and his hermitage was near Prayāga (Allahābad) between the Ganges and the Jamna. Whereas, Bādarāyaṇa, as the name itself clearly shows, was the son of Bādari and his hermitage was at Badarikāśrama on the Himalayas. It is possible that Bādarāyaṇa's father and preceptor was called Bādari after the name of this sacred hermitage, which soon became a great seat of learning for the Vedānta school of Philosophy.

The earliest authentic reference to Bādarāyaṇa and Veda Vyāsa is by Sāṅkara himself, and it is clear from his works that he always made a distinction between Kṛishṇa Dvaipāyana Veda Vyāsa, the author of the Bhagavadgītā, and Bādarāyaṇa or Vyāsa, the author of the Vedānta Sūtras. In commenting on Bhagavadgītā, Sāṅkara refers to the author in the Preface in the following terms:—

“तं धर्मं भगवता यथोपदिष्टं वेदव्यासः सर्वज्ञो भगवान्
गीताख्यै सप्तभिः श्लोकशतै रुपनिबन्ध ।” (It is this Dharma

in the Āraṇyaka or Upanishad portion of the Vedas and not in the Samhitā and Brāhmaṇa portions of the same. Like the great Veda Vyāsa, Bādarāyaṇa divided the whole of the Vedas into two main parts—the Karmakāṇḍa and the Jñānakāṇḍa—the exoteric and the

which was taught by the Lord, that the omniscient and adorable Veda Vyāsa embodied in the seven hundred verses called Gītas.) But in the only place where he names the author of the Vedānta Sūtras, Saṅkara says as follows: “नन्वेवं सति, सातिशयत्वा दन्तवत्त्व मेश्वर्यस्य स्यात्, ततश्चैषा मावृत्तिः प्रसज्येते त्यत उत्तरं भगवान् वादरायण आचार्यः पठति—“अनावृत्तिः शब्दा दनावृत्तिः शब्दात्”—इति ।” (But from the circumstances of the Lordly power of the released souls not being absolute, it follows that it comes to an end and then they will have to return from the world of Brahman! To this objection, the reverend Bādarāyaṇa Ācharya replies in the following Sūtra—Of them there is non-return according to scripture; non-return according to scripture—(Vide Saṅkara's preface to Vedānta Sūtra, IV. 4-22). It is apparent from these two passage that Saṅkara makes a clear distinction between the author of the Bhagavadgītā and that of the Vedānta Sūtras, taking the one as the incarnation of the Omniscient Lord Himself, and the other as one of his own respected Āchāryas or teachers.

Further, in Sūtra III. 3-32 of his Vedānta Darśana, Bādarāyaṇa himself refers to Kṛishṇa Dvaipayana, as an instance of persons who knew Brahman and yet took on new bodies for the purpose of saving the world. In commenting upon this Sūtra, Saṅkara says:—“उपपन्नात्विद्यं चिन्ता ब्रह्मविदामपि केषांचिदितिहासपुराणयोर्देहान्तरोत्पत्तिदर्शनात् । तथाहि, अपान्तरतमा नाम वेदाचार्यः पुराणेषु विष्णुनियोगात् कलिद्वापरयोः सन्धौ कृष्णद्वैपायनः संबभूवेति स्मरन्ति ।”

(There is indeed room for the inquiry proposed, as we know from Itihāsa and Purāṇa, that some persons although knowing Brahman, yet obtained new bodies. Tradition informs us that Apāntaratamas, an ancient Rishi and teacher of the Vedas, was, by the order of

esoteric, and arranged the latter into Ten Principal Upanishads. Again he separated the Bhagavadgītā from the rest of the Mahābhārata and made it—perhaps with slight alterations—an independent authority²⁴ like the Upanishads for his new school of philosophy. But bare quotations from these Śrutis and Smṛitis were not enough to satisfy the growing demands of the intelligent inquirers of his time. Further, there were apparent inconsistencies between the various texts of the Upanishads and the Bhagavadgītā,

Vishṇu, born on this earth as Kṛishṇa Dvaipayana at the interval of time between the Dvāpara Yuga and Kali Yuga.) If Kṛishṇa Dvaipayana was the author of these Sūtras, nothing would have been more natural and easier for Saṅkara than to refer to the author himself as an instance. Further it is clear from this passage, that Kṛishṇa Dvaipayana, according to Saṅkara, lived before the Kallyuga and he could not be, therefore, identical with Bādarāyaṇa, the author of the Vedānta Sūtras and the reputed commentator of Patañjali's Yoga Sūtras. Moreover, the Vedānta Sūtras are widely known as Bādarāyaṇa Sūtras, but no one has yet called them Kṛishṇa Dvaipayana Sūtras. Saṅkarānanda, one of these successors of Saṅkara, and one of the greatest of Sanskrit scholars, makes it clear in his preface to his commentary on the Bhagavadgītā, that these two persons could never be identical. In that preface, he refers to the various works ascribed to Kṛishṇa Dvaipayana, but makes no mention of the Vedānta Sūtras, as one of his works. No doubt some of the later Āchāryās have made a confusion between these two names, but that is no reason why the authors of the Bhagavadgītā and the Vedānta Sūtras should be blindly identified and looked upon as one person.

²⁴ The colophon at the end of each chapter of the Bhagavadgītā makes it clear how it has been elevated from its original position as an Itihāsa into an independent authority like the Vedas. The actual words are: “इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतासूपनिषत्सु, ब्रह्मविद्यायां, योगशास्त्रे, श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे, मोक्षसंन्यासयोगोनामाष्टादशोऽध्यायः” According to this, Bhagavadgītā is not only an Upanishad, but it is also a Brahma Vidya, a Yoga Śastra, and a Samvāda.

which required to be reconciled and explained away by means of strict reasoning. To reduce, therefore, the teachings of the Upanishads and of the Bhagavadgītā or the Mahābhārata to a consistent and systematic whole, to explain away apparent contradictions in those various texts, and to refute all objections that have been or might be urged against them, it was necessary for Bādarāyaṇa that he should compose a work strictly based on reasoning. He accordingly composed his famous²⁵ Vedānta Sūtras in four chapters in 556 aphorisms. Each of these four chapters²⁶ (Adhyāyas) comprises in its turn four sections (Pādas) and

²⁵ These Sūtras are also called and known under various names. They are called Uttara Mimāṃsā Darśana, as reasoned exposition of the Uttara or latter part of the Vedas, i.e., of the Upanishads, in contradistinction from Pūrva Mimāṃsā Darśana, ascribed to Jaimini who expounded the Pūrva or the earlier part of the Vedas, i.e., the Mantras and the sacrificial portions of the Brāhmaṇas. They are also called Brahma Sūtras, aphorisms expounding the nature of Brahman as distinguished from the Dharma Sūtras or aphorisms expounding the nature of Dharma, the subject matter of Jaimini's work. They are also called by other names such as Śārīraka Sūtras or Śārīraka Mimāṃsā or Śārīraka Darśana (as expounding the true nature of the embodied soul), Vyāsa Sūtras (Aphorisms expounding the true opinion of Veda Vyāsa or Kṛishṇa Dvaipāyana as handed down to Bādarāyaṇa Vyāsa through a long line of teachers like Ātreya, Āsamarathya, Auḍulomi, Kāśakṛitsna, Kārshnājani, Bādari, Jaimini, etc.); Bādarāyaṇa Sūtras (Aphorisms composed by Bādarāyaṇa, son of Bādari, also known as Vyāsa, on account of his having arranged the Śrutis and Smṛitis as detailed above). They also go under the name of Vedānta Mimāṃsā or Vedānta Darśana (Reasoned exposition of the Vedānta) and Āupanishadī Mimāṃsā or Āupanishad Darśana (Reasoned exposition of the Upanishads).

²⁶ These four chapters are called the Samanvayādhyāya (connecting), Avirodhādhyāya (reconciling), Sādhanaādhyāya (means) and Phalādhyāya (fruit). The first four Sūtras embody the fundamental doctrines of the Vedānta and the rest of the Sūtras are more or less explanatory of the same.

each section a number of sub-sections (Adhikaraṇas). These three—the Upanishads, the Bhagavadgītā and the Vedānta Sūtras—constitute, according to Bādarāyaṇa, the complete canon of the Vedānta Darśana. They are called the three Prasthānas or Institutes of Vedāntic teaching, the Upanishads being called the Śruti-Prasthāna (Scriptural Institute); the Bhagavadgītā, the Smṛiti-Prasthāna (Traditional Institute); and the Vedānta Sūtras, the Nyāya-Prasthāna (Logical Institute).

It is said that these Sūtras have been thoroughly revised and enlarged upon by Śuka Yogīndra, the son and direct disciple of Bādarāyaṇa; and Śaṅkara in his commentary on the Vedānta Sūtras often refers to the compiler under the name of *Sūtrakāra*, wherever it was necessary for him to distinguish²⁷ the original author from the actual compiler of the said Sūtras. The compiler often quotes the authority of

²⁷ There cannot be any doubt that the main body of the Vedānta Sūtras is the handwork of Bādarāyaṇa, but the text of those Sūtras as we have them at present clearly bears the mark of having been compiled by an equally great Vedāntic scholar with his own additions and modifications; and tradition uniformly ascribes this task to Śuka Yogīndra, the son and disciple of Bādarāyaṇa himself. In corroboration of this statement it may be sufficient to quote the following Sūtras as expressing the opinion of Bādarāyaṇa as distinguished from that of the Sūtrakāra or the actual compiler of the Vedānta Sūtras:

“तदुपर्यपि वादरायणः संभवात्” I, 3-26.

“भावं तु वादरायणोऽस्ति हि” I, 3-33.

“पूर्वं तु वादरायणो हेतुव्यपदेशात्” III, 2-41.

“पुरुषार्थोऽतः शब्दादिति वादरायणः” III, 4-1.

“अधिकोपदेशात् वादरायणस्यैवं तद्दर्शनात्” III, 4-8.

“आनुष्ठेयं वादरायणः साम्यश्रुतेः” III, 4-19.

Bādarāyaṇa as opposed to Jaimini and other teachers, and his views appear to be decidedly Advaitic, more in accordance with those of Śaṅkara, his great-great disciple than with those of Bādarāyaṇa, his own father and direct teacher. He looks upon both Bādarāyaṇa and Jaimini as his teachers, and he seems to give great weight to the opinion whenever²⁸ both the said teachers are agreed.

“अप्रतीकालंबना नयतीति बादरायण

उभयथाऽदोषात् तत्कतुश्च ” IV, 8-15.

The compiler of these Sūtras or as Śaṅkara, calls him Sūtrakāra, often contrasts the views of Bādarāyaṇa with those of Bādari and Jaimini and agrees with one or more of these. The following consecutive Sūtras from the 4th Pāda of the 4th Adhyāya of the Vedānta Sūtras will suffice to show this :

“अभावं बादरि राह ह्येवम् ॥ १० ॥”

“भावं जैमिनि विकल्पामननात् ॥ ११ ॥”

“द्वादशाहवदुभयविधं बादरायणोऽतः ॥ १२ ॥

Śaṅkara in all these places calls these as Āchāryas. (Cf. तत्र बाद-
रिस्तावदाचार्यः etc., जैमिनिस्त्वाचार्यः etc., बादरायणः पुन
राचार्यः etc.)

²⁸ Compare the following Sūtra (IV. 1—17) “अतोऽन्यापि
होकेषा मुभयोः” (For, there is also a class of good works other
than this according to some. There is agreement of both teachers as
to the fate of these works.) Śaṅkara commenting upon this Sūtra
says: “Both teachers, Jaimini as well as Bādarāyaṇa, are agreed that
such works, undertaken for the fulfilment of some special wish, do not
contribute towards the origination of true knowledge.” Similarly
commenting on Sūtra III. 4-40, Śaṅkara writes: “By the word ‘also,’
the Sūtrakāra indicates the consensus of Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa on
this point, in order to confirm thereby the view adopted.” Many more
passages might be quoted, but we think what we have already cited is
quite sufficient to show that the compiler, whoever it might be, has
clearly revised and enlarged upon Bādarāyaṇa’s original work.

Suka is said to have been one of²⁹ the greatest of the
Yogins of his time and it is said that he attained the
knowledge of Brahman, even while he was quite an infant.
He is the first great teacher who proclaimed Sannyāsa or
asceticism as the best mode of life for attaining spiritual
growth, by himself practically becoming a³⁰ Sannyāsin of
the order of *Paramahansa Parivrājakāchārya*. He is said to
have taught the Vedānta Sūtras to several of his disciples at
Badarikāśrama, among whom Gauḍapāda and Upavarsha
were prominent.

It is an established practice of the ancient Hindus that
whenever a work is written in the form of Sūtras, there
must, of necessity, be a small commentary called Vṛitti to
enable the reader to understand those Sūtras; and the
author of the Vṛitti is generally either the author of the
Sūtras themselves or a pupil or pupil’s pupil of his. We
know that such a Vṛitti had been written on the Vedānta

²⁹ That is the reason why he is generally called Suka Yogindra. In
commenting on Sūtra (IV. 2—14) “स्मर्यते च” Śaṅkara instances
Suka in support of his proposition that he who knows Brahman neither
moves nor departs. He says: “Suka, having moved through the air
more rapidly than the wind and having shown his yogic power was
seen by all beings.” By the way in which he speaks of him, Śaṅkara
himself appears to have witnessed this wonderful Yogic feat of his
great-great teacher, Suka Yogindra.

³⁰ Gauḍapādāchārya, one of the greatest of Suka’s disciples,
always refers to himself in the following terms: “श्रीपरमहंस
परिव्राजकाचार्यः श्रीमच्छुकमुनीन्द्र शिष्यः” as “the disciple of the
Revered Paramahansa Parivrājakāchārya Śrī Sukamunīndra”.
(Compare the colophon at the end of his Vārtika on the Nṛsiṃhmotta-
ratapaniyanishad which runs as follows: इति श्रीपरमहंस
परिव्राजकाचार्य श्रीमच्छुकमुनीन्द्रशिष्यश्रीमद्गौडपादविरचिते
उत्तरतापनीयविवरणे प्रथमः खण्डः ।”

Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa as well as on the Mīmāṃsā Sūtras of Jaimini by³¹ Upavarsha, a brother of Varshāchārya under whom the great grammarians, Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, the authors of Aṣṭādhyāyī and Vyākaraṇa Vārtika are said to have learnt their first principles of Sanskrit Grammar.

The next great teacher in regular succession after Suka Munindra in the school of Vedānta Philosophy founded by Bādarāyaṇa was the great scholar Gauḍapādāchārya spoken of above. He is said to have originally belonged to the Dravīḍian country (Southern India) and to have learnt the Mahābhāṣya the great commentary on Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī by Patañjali³² from the lips of that great sage himself, at Puṇḍarikapūra along with 999 other pupils who

³¹ Upavarsha must no doubt have been a contemporary of Patañjali, Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa, the authors of the three great systems of later Hindu Philosophy. He is referred to by Śaṅkara several times in his Bhāṣyā on the Vedānta Sūtras under the respectful appellation of Bhagavad Upavarsha; and in commenting on Sūtra III. 3-53, "एकआत्मनः शरीरे भावात्" he distinctly refers to Upavarsha's Vṛtti on the Vedānta Sūtras. The passage in question—
"अतएवात्र भगवता उपवर्षेण प्रथमे तन्त्रे आत्मास्तित्वाभिधा-
नप्रसक्तौ शरीरके वक्ष्याम इति उद्धारः कृतः"—also clearly shows that the Reverend Upavarsha must have also written a Vṛtti on Jaimini's Pūrva Mīmāṃsā. The expression "Bhagavat" applied to Upavarsha by Śaṅkara as distinguished from the expression "Acharya" applied to Bādarāyaṇa, Jaimini and Gauḍapāda, distinctly shows that Upavarsha charya must have passed away from this world long before the advent of Śaṅkara into Northern India.

³² Patañjali is believed to be an incarnation of Ādi Śeṣha. It is said that he was born in a miraculous manner from a great sage who was making penance on the bank of the Gonarda river in Kāśmīr and he is, therefore, sometimes known as Gonardiya. Besides his Mahābhāṣya which is his latest and best production, Patañjali is said to have written two other works on Yoga and Vaidya. King Bhoja, in his commentary on Patañjali's Yoga sūtras, refers to him not only as

had come down to that sacred city from different parts of India to learn that Great Commentary on Sanskrit Grammar. As all these pupils were anxious to learn the Mahābhāṣya from his own sacred lips, Patañjali is said to have hit upon a device by which he could teach them all, at one and the same time, as effectively and impressively as if he taught every one of them separately in person. With a view to spend the greater portion of his time in the daily service of the Lord, Patañjali arranged for a course of daily lectures (Āhnikas) to be delivered in a spacious hall in the sacred temple of Naṭarāja Himself between certain specific hours of the day. A curtain was put up between the teacher and the pupils and the latter were strictly warned not to raise the curtain under any circumstances while the former was delivering his lectures behind the screen. It is said that as soon as he went up to the *dais* to deliver his lectures behind the curtain, he assumed his superhuman form as Ādi Śeṣha and addressed his pupils with all his one thousand faces to give strength to his voice and emphasis to his lectures: but as soon as he finished his lecture for the day, he is said to have resumed his human form and appeared again before his pupils in his usual shape.

It so happened that on the last day of his course of lectures when Patañjali was expected to finish his Mahā-

a great philosopher, but also as a great grammarian and physician. He is thus said to have prescribed medicine for body, mind and spirit—all three. Hearing the greatness of Puṇḍarikapūra (now known as Chidambaram) and of the Great Lord Naṭeṣa, the Chief Deity of that sacred place, Patañjali is said to have gone to that ancient city in Southern India and spent the last days of his mundane existence along with Vyāghrapāda in serving the Lord Naṭeṣa and in teaching his Mahābhāṣya and other works to the various pupils that gathered around him to learn the same.

bhāshya, while he was, as usual, addressing his 1000 pupils behind the curtain with his 1000 faces as Ādi Śeṣha, and while Gauḍapāda, one of his pupils had gone out of the lecture-hall, without the teacher's permission, to answer calls of nature, some of the pupils in the hall, being struck with wonder at the majestic voice of his peroration, raised the curtain, out of pure curiosity, to see if it could be possible for a human being to address them in that wonderful manner. The result was most disastrous. All the pupils in the hall had been instantaneously burnt to ashes by the poisonous flames that proceeded from his one thousand faces. Alas! it was too late for the teacher to find out the mistake of his pupils; and the master's labour of several years had all been lost in an instant by the inquisitiveness of the pupils.

Patañjali had suddenly made up his mind not to teach the Mahābhāshya to any one in future; but he soon became extremely sorry that not one out of his one thousand pupils had been spared to spread his Mahābhāshya in the world. While he was thus feeling sorry on the one hand on account of all his labour having been lost in vain, and indignant on the other at the rash inquisitiveness of his pupils in having disobeyed his commands, poor Gauḍapāda, his Dravidian pupil, re-entered the hall, perfectly ignorant of what had happened; and as he stood amazed at the ghastly sight of his co-pupils, a curse and a boon fell upon him from his master's lips. For his fault of having left the place of instruction without the teacher's permission, poor Gauḍapāda was cursed by the great sage to become a Brahmarākshasa and to forget all he had learnt from his teacher's lips. But as he was the only pupil fortunately spared to propagate his Mahābhāshya, the sage blessed him to remember it so long as he was a Brahmarākshasa and

comforted him with the hope that he would regain his human form as soon as he had taught the whole of the Mahābhāshya that he had directly learnt from him to a competent pupil. Having said this, the great sage mysteriously disappeared from the earth, never to be seen again by mortal eyes.

Gauḍapāda accordingly left his native place and wandered long in Northern India in his strange form as a Brahmarākshasa and at last took his abode on a big banian tree on the way to Ujjain to find out a competent pupil. On one-day it so chanced that Chandra Śarman, a learned Brāhmaṇa of Prāchyadeśa who was all along anxious to learn the Mahābhāshya, passed by that tree when he was found out by the Brahmarākshasa to be a competent pupil and the whole of the Mahābhāshya was taught to him from day to day by Gauḍapāda, exactly as he had learnt it from Patañjali; and the eager pupil carefully reduced them all to writing by engrossing them, then and there, on banian leaves. Lo, no sooner had Gauḍapāda completely taught the Mahābhāshya to Chandra Śarman, than he was freed from the curse by regaining his human form! But his head became perfectly blank so far as the Mahābhāshya was concerned and he could not remember one word of what he had learnt from Patañjali at Puṇḍarikapura along with his 999 co-pupils. Having blessed the young Brāhmaṇa from the East and ordaining him to propagate the Mahābhāshya in the world, Gauḍapāda went forth in search of a Guru to secure his spiritual happiness. He wended his way into the extreme north of India among the Himālayas, and became a disciple of Śuka Yogindra, son of Bādarāyaṇa at Badarikaśrama. There he learnt the Vedānta Sūtras from his Guru and Paramaguru, with whom he spent the

remaining portion of his life-time as a Sannyāsin of the order of Paramahansa Parivrajākāchārya, refuting with the Buddhists and Jains and teaching his Advaita interpretations of the Vedānta to his numerous disciples who resorted to him for instruction. As he came from the Draviḍa country, he was generally known in the North under the name of Draviḍāchārya. He is said to have written³³ commentaries on several important works relating to Hindu Philosophy, especially on the Vedānta wherein he was considered to be the

³³ Gauḍapāda or Draviḍāchārya as he was better known in the North, is said to have written a prose commentary on the Sāṅkhya-Kārikās of Īśvara Kṛishṇa and the Yoga-Sūtras of the Patañjali, his former master. Although the former work has been several times published with various glosses and translations in various parts of India, nothing is yet known of the latter work. It is said that he wrote these two commentaries with a view to reconcile the Sāṅkhya and the Yoga with the Vedānta.

Gauḍapāda has also written a commentary on Anugītā, and Uttaragītā, portions from the Mahābhārata, but only the latter work has been recently published in the Srīraṅgam Sanskrit Series. Ever since his time, these two works came to be considered as supplements to Bhagavadgītā, and are looked upon as equally authoritative with the latter work.

It is also certain that Gauḍapāda had written a commentary on the Chhāndogya Upanishad—one of the most important scriptures on which the Advaitic doctrine of the Vedānta Philosophy is based—inasmuch as Śaṅkara refers to the same in his Bhāṣhya on the said Upanishad. [Vide his Avataraṇikā (Preface) as well as his Bhāṣhya (Commentary) on the 1st verse of the 8th Khanda of the third Prapāṭhaka of the Chhāndogya Upanishad.]

Gauḍapāda is also said to have written Kārikās or poetical commentaries on Māṇḍūkya Upanishad, Nṛsiṃhatāpanīyopaniṣad and Vedānta Sūtras. Although we have complete copies of the first two Kārikās, we have not as yet come across a complete copy of his Kārikās on the Vedānta Sūtras. Śaṅkara frequently refers to his

greatest authority by all his contemporaries. Even in Sāṅkhya Philosophy Gauḍapāda was considered such a great authority by his contemporaries like Praśastapādāchārya and Udyotakarāchārya that his commentary on Īśvara-kṛishṇa's Sāṅkhyakārikā was selected and translated into Chinese so early as the reign of the Chang Dynasty.

The chief among the disciples of, and one in regular succession of Vedāntic teachers from Gauḍapādāchārya was Govinda Yogin. This Govinda Yogin or Govinda Bhagavatpāda as Śaṅkara uniformly calls him in his works was no other person than Chandra Śarman or Chandrā-

Kārikas on the Vedānta Sūtras and quotes them with approval. Take for instance the following Kārikas or explanatory verses.

“गौण मिथ्यात्मनोऽसत्त्वे पुत्रदेहादिबाधनात् ।
सद्ब्रह्मात्माहमित्येवं बोधे कार्यं कथं भवेत् ॥
अन्वेष्टव्यात्मविज्ञानात् प्राक्प्रमातृत्व मात्मनः ।
अन्विष्टः स्थात्प्रमातृत्व पाप्मदोषादिवर्जितः ॥
देहात्मप्रत्ययो यद्वत् प्रमाणत्वेन कल्पितः ।
लौकिकं तद्वदेवेदं प्रमाणं त्वात्मनिश्चयात् ॥”

and these are quoted by Śaṅkara in his commentary on the Vedānta Sūtras at the end of the fourth Sūtra of the first Pāda of the first Adhyāya, and these verses are cited by him as if from his Āchārya in support of his view that when there has arisen in a man's mind a knowledge that 'I am Brahman' the apparent world with all its distinctions ceases to have any meaning for him. Śaṅkara, no doubt, does not mention the author by name. Wherever he refers to Gauḍapādāchārya or to his commentaries on the Upanishads and the Vedānta Sūtras he does so by calling him 'Āchārya', apparently to show the great respect he had for him as his Paramaguru. It is only Ānandagiri that explains the term Āchārya in these passages as meaning Draviḍāchārya. The following two stanzas by which he concludes his

chārya, the renowned grammarian who is said to have had the special fortune of preserving to the world Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī, as amplified by Katyayana's Vārtika, as we possess it at present. The traditions current in different part of India as well as the written accounts that are recorded in Patañjali-Vijaya,

commentary on Gauḍapāda's Maṇḍūkyaopaniṣad Kārikās, show the great amount of respect and reverence that Saṅkara had for his Paramaguru. They run as follows:—

“प्रज्ञावैशाखवेधक्षुभितजलनिधे वेदनाम्नोऽन्तरस्थं

भूता न्यालोक्य मग्ना न्यविरतजननग्राह्योरे समुद्रे ।

कारुण्यादुद्धारामृतं मिदं ममरैर्दुर्लभं भूतहेतोः

यं स्त पूज्याभिपूज्यं परमगुरु ममं पादपातैर्नतोऽस्मि ॥

यत्प्रज्ञालोकभासा प्रतिहति मगमत् स्वान्तमोहान्धकारो

मज्जोन्मज्ज च घोरे ह्यसकृदुपजनोदन्वति त्रासने मे ।

यत्पादा वाश्रितानां श्रुतिशमविनयप्राप्ति रग्रचा ह्यमोघा

तत्पादौ पावनीयौ भवभयत्रिनुदौ सर्वभावैर्नमस्ये ॥”

Even here Saṅkara does not mention his Paramāchārya (Teacher's teacher) by name. Rai Bahadur Lala Baij Nath, in his admirable work on Hinduism, refers to these Kārikās on the Vedānta Sūtras and ascribes them to Draviḍāchārya. Until recently nothing definite was known about Gauḍapāda's Kārikās on the Vedānta Sūtras, and people thought that the Draviḍāchārya to whom this work is ascribed was even different from Gauḍapādāchārya. Fortunately these verses are found in the manuscript copy of the Kārikās on the Vedānta Sūtras ascribed to Draviḍāchārya at present kept in the library of his Holiness, the present Śrī Saṅkarāchārya of Dvārakā, and from this copy, though an incomplete one, it is clear that Gauḍapāda himself, the Guru of Govinda Bhagavatpāda, and the Paramaguru of Saṅkara, was known under the name of Draviḍāchārya. Pandit Vindhyeśvara Prasāda Dvivedi in his preface to Vedānta Parijāta Saurabha, a

Gauḍapādollāsa, and Harimiśriya, inform us that he was a learned Brāhmaṇa of Prāchyadeśa, that he was well-versed in the Vaidika and Laukika literatures of his day, that he had the special fortune of learning the Mahābhāṣya from Gauḍapādāchārya, one of the direct disciples of the great sage Patanjali, that he settled at Ujjain and married four wives, one from each of the four castes, and became the father of four sons who all became renowned in Indian Literature under the names of “Bhartṛihari,

Vaiṣṇavite commentary on the Vedānta Sūtras by Śrī Nimbārka-chārya, recently published at Benares in the Chaukāmbā Sanskrit Series, refers to the existence of the Kārikās on the Vedānta Sūtras by Gauḍapādāchārya in the following terms: “गौडपादीति प्रसिद्धं कारिकावद्धं गौडपादाचार्यकृतं शारीरकसूत्रभाष्यमपि शङ्करभाष्यात् पुरतनं वर्तते । नै तच्चित्रं माण्डूक्योपनिषदो गौडपादाचार्यः कृताः कारिकाः शङ्कराचार्या व्याख्यातवन्त इति ।”

It is further clear from this that his Kārikās on the Vedānta Sūtras went under the name of “Gauḍapādi.” No doubt the adherents of Rāmānuja's School of Vedānta Philosophy would have us believe that this Vārtika on the Vedānta Sūtras and the Bhāṣya on the Chhāndogyaopaniṣad referred to by Saṅkara in his Bhāṣya on the said works are the productions of a Draviḍian Saint or Alvar who followed the doctrine of the Viśiṣṭādvaitic school of Vedānta Philosophy in opposition to the Advaita school proclaimed by Saṅkara; but we shall show in dealing with Internal Evidence on Saṅkara's Age how absurd and unwarranted this assumption is.

“Bhartṛihari or Bhartṛiprapaṇḍita as he was generally known in his later Āsrama, was the eldest son of Govinda Bhagavatpāda by his Brāhmaṇa wife. He is said to have ruled the kingdom of Ujjain for some time, as being the eldest son of his father: but being disgusted with the unchastity of his beloved queen, he soon resigned the kingdom in favour of his valarous brother Śrī Harsha Vikramāditya, born to his father by his Kshatriya wife. He thereupon became a Sannyāsin and lived with his aged father as one of his constant

⁸⁵ Vikramāditya, Bhaṭṭi and ⁸⁶ Vararuchi, that he thought the

chelas. Śrī Sadāśiva Brahmendra refers to Bhartṛihari in his Jagad-guru-Ratnamālā in the following terms :

प्रभवात् परमार्थसङ्गहाच्च प्रणयस्थान ममुष्य सिद्धशिष्यः ।

विरतक्षितिर्क्षणो विरक्त्या हरि र्हो मम तृहतां स्वशक्त्या ॥

It is clear from this that his proper name was Hari, and Bhartṛi was merely a title like 'His Majesty.' So it is that Kayyata speaks of the commentary, called Sāra on the Mahābhāṣya as the work of Hari (Vide 'तथापि हरिबद्धेन' etc., in Kayyata's Mahābhāṣya-Pradīpa). He is said to have written commentaries on the Upanishads, the Vedānta Sūtras and the Bhagavadgītā, and he was no doubt a very famous writer as he is quoted by several Viśiṣṭādvaitic writers as well. From Śaṅkara's commentary and Ānandagiri's gloss on the Bṛihadāraṇyakopanishad of the Kāṇvaśākhā, it is certain that Bhartṛihari must have written a commentary on the same Upanishad as presented in the Mādhyandina Śākhā. It is a pity that nothing is known of his commentaries on the Prasthānatraya. Vākyapadīya, his famous work on grammar in the form of Kārikās is still held in high estimation by all scholars and has been commented upon by Helārāja and Punjarāja. Besides these works, Bhartṛihari is also said to have written his famous Subhāṣita-Ratnāvalī, consisting of the three Satakas on Śṛṅgāra, Nīti and Vairāgya, which are still read with admiration by every Sanskrit student in India.

⁸⁵ This is the account that is given in Patañjali Vijaya, Gauḍapādīya and Harimīrīya ; though in the first work Bhartṛihari is given as the son of Chandra Sarman by his Sūdra wife, and Vararuchi is substituted in his place; the last work makes both Bhartṛihari and Vikramāditya, the sons of Chandra Sarman by his Kshatriya wife, and adds Bhāravi as the son of the Sūdra wife. Pandit Appā Śāstri Vidyā vāhaspati makes them all sons of Śabarasyāmin the author of the Pūrva-mīmāṃsā-Bhāṣya, on the authority of a stanza quoted in his preface to Mālavikāgnimītra from Vāṅgiya Prabandhas, whose authority seems to be very questionable. The stanza runs as follows:—

“ब्राह्मण्या मभव द्वाहमिहिरो ज्योतिर्विदा मगणीः

राजा भतृहरिश्च विक्रमनृपः क्षत्रात्मजाया मभूत् ॥

Mahābhāṣya ⁸⁷ as we have it at present to his numerous disciples who propagated the same in the world, that he was afterwards initiated into the mysteries of the Vedānta Philo-

वैश्यायां हरिचन्द्रवैद्यतिलको जातश्च शङ्कुः कृती
शूद्राया ममरः षडेव शबरस्वामिद्विजस्यात्मजाः ॥”

This is merely an attempt on the part of some modern writer to connect the “Nine Gems” of Vikrama's Court; but it is clearly opposed to all the facts known about these persons. Sadāśiva Brahmendra distinctly says that Govinda Yogin or Jayagovinda Muni as he calls him is no other person than Chandra Sarman. (Vide his Gururātnamālā, St. 11.) The learned scholar also seems to think that the Vikramāditya referred to in the said stanza is the Vikramārka of the Mālava Era of 57 B. C; but as we have already shown, it refers to Śriharsha Vikramāditya, the Emperor of Ujjain referred to in Rāja-Taraṅgiṇi and other works as the patron of Mātṛigupta and who according to Chitsukhāchārya's Śaṅkara Vijaya was a contemporary of Śaṅkara.

⁸⁶ Vararuchi referred to here is not the same person as Kātyāyana or Vararuchi, the author of the Vyākaraṇa Vārtikas, who was a contemporary of Pāṇini, the author of the Aṣṭādhyāyī. According to Kathāsaritsāgara, Pāṇini, Vararuchi, Vyāḍi and Indradatta were all co-pupils and disciples of Varshāchārya. The Vararuchi referred to here is probably the author of the Prakṛita-Prakāśika and other works.

⁸⁷ The Mahābhāṣya that we have at present is not a complete commentary. It has not got the Upasamhāra (the concluding portion) as the same was not heard by Gauḍapāda; and certain portions even in the middle of the work are left out blank with star marks, as some of the leaves on which the Mahābhāṣya is said to have been recorded by Chandra Sarman were partially eaten away by a goat (अज), which portions still go under the name of *Ajabhakshitas*. Compare:

“वटद्रुपर्णस्थितवर्णमेलना दथैष भाष्यं निखिलं पतञ्जलेः ।
लिलेख वत्सक्षतदुर्गहाक्षरे स्थले क्वचि त्कुण्डलना मकल्पयत् ॥”

(Patañjali-Vijaya, VI. 26.)

sophy by that very great scholar³⁸ Śrī Gauḍapādāchārya, who had become the disciple of Śrī Śuka Yogindra, son of Śrī Badarāyana, the founder of the Vedānta School of Philosophy, that he thereupon renounced the world and became a Sannyāsin of the order of Paramahansa Parivrajakācharya initiated by his Paramaguru under the name of³⁹ Govinda Muni and that he lived partly at Badarikāśrama on the Himalayas, where his teacher, great teacher and great-great teacher lived, learning the Vedānta from their lips, and partly at Amarakānta on the bank of the Narmada near Ujjain teaching the Vedānta to his disciples in turn.

It was to this great teacher Śrī Govinda Yogin that Saṅkara was ordained to go to get himself formally initiated into Sannyāsa which he had already practically assumed at Kālāti when he emerged from the river Chūrṇi with his famous⁴⁰ Nirvāṇa-Pañchaka. Though not such a great

³⁸ Compare the following stanzas :—

“पठिते पतञ्जलिनिबन्धने द्विजः कृतदारकर्मणि च पुत्रमण्डले ।
शुकशिष्यगौडपदगुर्वनुग्रहाच्चरमाश्रमं सुरनदीच शिष्ये ॥
३२ ॥

सुरसिन्धुरोधसि गिरीशसन्निधा वतिनीय तत्र कियतोऽप्यनेहसः ।
विरहासहै रनुगतः स योगिभिः परिपावनं बदरिकाश्रमं ययौ ॥
६७ ॥”

(Patañjali-Vijaya, Sarga VII).

³⁹ A'nandagiri, in his Prāchīna Sankara Vijaya explains the origin of the name as follows :

“सततं निगदन्नेन योसौ 'जय गोविन्द जये' ति सूक्तिमेकाम् ।
श्रितमौनं मभूच्चदन्यवादे जयगोविन्दमुनिं तदाहु रेनम् ॥

⁴⁰ Nirvāṇa-Pañchaka, also known as Ātma-Pañchaka, Advaita-Pañchaka, Pañcharatna, and Pañcharatnamālīkā is a collection of five stanzas in which Saṅkara has expounded the identity of the soul

scholar and writer as his Guru (Śrī Gauḍapādāchārya), Govinda Bhagavatpāda was like his Paramaguru (Śrī Śuka Yogindra) a born Siddha and a great Yogin. Besides the Mahābhāṣya which he said to have reproduced in its present shape, only three other works—⁴¹ Yoga-Tāravali, ⁴² Advai-

with Brahman by differentiating it from all other things than the Brahman, which are generally mistaken for the soul. It begins with :

“नाहं देहो नेन्द्रियाण्यन्तरङ्गं नाहङ्कारः प्राणवर्गो न बुद्धिः ।
दारापत्यक्षेत्रवित्तादिदूरः साक्षी नित्यः प्रत्यगात्मा शिवोऽहम् ॥”

It is published in Telugu and Nāgari characters and is available with translation in English and vernaculars. It is printed in Nāgari character with a Sanskrit commentary called Nirvāṇa-Pañchaka-Vivṛiti written by Śrī Svāmī Nityānanda Sarasvatī. It is also available with two other unpublished commentaries respectively known as Pañcharatnamālīkā-Kalpavallī and Pañcharatna-Dīdhiti.

⁴¹ Yoga-Tāravali is a small treatise on Rāja-Yoga consisting of 29 stanzas beginning with :

“वन्दे गुरुणां चरणारविन्दे सन्दर्शितस्वात्ममुखावबोधे ।
निःश्रेयसे जाङ्गलिकायमाने संसारहालाहलमोहशान्त्यै ॥”

It is also known as Rāja-Yoga-Tāravali and Rāja-Yoga-Sāra. It has been printed by the Mysore Government with an Index (अनुक्रमणिका) and it is also available in Nāgari character with the Bhāṣhā-Tīkā of Bhūmānandaji. In the former it is ascribed to Govinda Bhagavatpāda, but in the latter it is ascribed to Saṅkara himself. We accept the former view inasmuch as Saṅkara, according to Chitsukhāchārya, is said to have written a commentary based on the said work under the name of Rāja-Yoga-Bhāṣhya.

⁴² Advaitānubhūti also known as Avadhūta Gītā sets forth the chief principles of the Advaita Philosophy in 48 stanzas beginning with :

“अहं मानन्दसत्यादिलक्षणः केवलः शिवः ।
अनानन्दादिरूपं यत् तन्नाहं मचलोऽद्वयः ॥”

tanubhūti and ⁴⁸ Brahāmrita-Varshipi—are ascribed to him, but even these three works are sometimes ascribed to Śaṅkara himself. Ordained by Lord Nārāyaṇa, the chief Deity at Badarikāśrama, who is likewise said to have appeared to Govinda Bhagavatpāda in one of his Yogic visions and ordered by Gauḍapāda, his own Guru, he went out in search of Śaṅkara and was waiting for his arrival in his own hermitage on the bank of the Narmada. Śaṅkara, after wandering for nearly a year in search of his appointed Guru, arrived with his co-student and disciple Vishnu Sarman on the

It is said to have been composed by Govinda Bhagavatpāda in imitation of Śaṅkara's Vakya-Vṛitti. In fact the two benedictory stanzas "सर्गस्थितिप्रलयहेतु etc." and "यस्यप्रसादादहमेव विष्णुः etc." are found added at the beginning of each of these works. It is published at Haridvar in Nagari character with a Bhasha-Tika by Pandit Hari Śaṅkarji Sastrin.

⁴⁸ Brahāmrita-Varshipi is an excellent work on Vedānta Philosophy consisting of about 3000 Granthas bristling with quotations from Upanishads and various other ancient authorities interspersed with original stanzas. Though the work begins with quotations from Upanishads such as "ओं सन्नो मित्रः शं वरुणः" etc. the book actually commences with the following stanzas :

“सत्यं हेतुविवर्जितं श्रुतिगिरा माद्यं जगत्कारणं
व्याप्तस्थावरजङ्गमं निरुपमं चैतन्य मन्तर्गतम् ।
आत्मानं रविचन्द्रवह्निवपुषं तारात्मकं सन्ततं
नित्यानन्दगुणालयं सुकृतिनः पश्यन्ति रुद्धेन्द्रियाः ॥
अल्पेभ्यश्च महद्भ्यश्च ग्रन्थेभ्यो मतिमा न्नरः ।
सर्वतः सार मादद्यात् पुष्पेभ्य इव षट्पदः ॥

It is said by Chitsukhacharya to have been compiled by Śaṅkara himself, from the teachings of his Guru, Sri Govinda Bhagavatpāda. Though not yet printed, complete copy of the work is available in several libraries in manuscripts.

bank of the Narmadā, and met Sri Govinda Yogin⁴⁴, by a happy coincidence, in his own hermitage, surrounded by his illustrious son Bhartṛihari and his disciples. Both the teacher and the pupil had their eyes filled with tears of joy at this unlooked-for meeting; and they rejoiced at the respective commands that thus brought them together. Śaṅkara gladly chose Govinda Yogin as his holy teacher, and the latter was most happy to accept the former as his worthy pupil. Though the teacher felt himself inferior to the pupil, yet Govinda Bhagavatpāda obeyed the Lord's command by making Śaṅkara go through the formalities needed for becoming a full ascetic (Krama-Sannyāsin.) In this way, we are told by Chitsukhāchārya, Śaṅkara sat at the feet of his holy master for nearly two years and learnt from him almost all⁴⁵

⁴⁴ In his Bṛihat Śaṅkara Vijaya, Chitsukha informs us that Śaṅkara took the permission of his mother to become a Sannyasin on the 11th day of the bright-half of the month of Kartika of the year 2639 of the Yudhishthira Śaka (corresponding to 500 B. C.), and was ordained as a regular Sannyasin by Govinda Bhagavatpāda on the 2nd day of the bright-half of the month of Phalguna of the year 2640 of the Yudhishthira Śaka (corresponding to 499 B.C). So Śaṅkara became a full Sannyasin in his tenth year, and under the guidance of Govinda Bhagavatpāda and his worthy son Bhartṛihari, he became master of all the Sastras before he completed his twelfth year. It is said that Śaṅkara had very great reverence for Bhartṛihari or Bhartṛiprapancha as he calls him and it was in emulation of him and at his inducement that Śaṅkara wrote many of his minor works and commentaries.

⁴⁵ The following oft-quoted stanza :

“अष्टवर्षे चतुर्वेदी द्वादशे सर्वशास्त्रवित् ।
षोडशे कृतवान्भाष्यं द्वात्रिंशे मुनि रभ्यगात् ॥

clearly shows how extraordinarily intelligent and active Śaṅkara was throughout his life. According to this, Śaṅkara learnt all the Vedas by the eighth year of his age, and completed his study of the Sastras in the house and under the guidance of his teacher before he completed his

the important works on the Vedānta and other philosophies current in his days. It was at this period that Śaṅkara composed his Narmadāśṭaka⁴⁶ and many of his minor poems and Prakaraṇas such as Prātas-Smarana,⁴⁷ Sādhana-Pañchaka,⁴⁸

twelfth year. There will be nothing strange in this when we remember how remarkable the life of some of the modern English poets had been even in these degenerate days.

⁴⁶ Narmadāśṭaka is a collection of 8 stanzas said to have been composed by Śaṅkara on his first visit to Narmada in praise of the said river. It begins with:

“सबिन्दुसिन्धुमुखलत्तरङ्गभङ्गरञ्जितं,
द्विवत्सु पापजातजातकारिवारिसंयुतम् ।
कृतान्तदूतकालभूतभीतिहारि वर्मदे,
त्वदीयपादपङ्कजं नमामि देवि नर्मदे ॥”

⁴⁷ Prātas-Smarana is a small poem consisting of 3 stanzas briefly explaining the nature of one's own soul and its relation with the Supreme Brahman. It begins with:

“प्रातः स्मरामि हृदिसंस्फुरदात्मतत्वं,
सच्चित्सुखं परमहंसगतिं तुरीयम् ।
यत्स्वप्नजागरसुषुप्तमवैति नित्यं,
तद् ब्रह्म निष्कलमहं न च भूतसङ्घः ॥”

and is available in Nagari and Telugu characters.

⁴⁸ Sādhana-Pañchaka or Sopāna-Pañchaka as it is sometimes called, is a collection of 5 stanzas setting forth briefly the several means of attaining self-realization. It begins with:

“वेदो नित्यमधीयतां, तदुदितं कर्म स्वनुष्ठीयतां,
तेनेशस्य विधीयतां मपचितिः, काम्ये मतिस्त्यज्यताम् ।
पापौघः परिघूयतां, भवमुखे दोषोऽनुसन्धीयतां,
आत्मेच्छाव्यवसीयतां, निजगृहात्तूर्णं विनिर्गम्यताम् ॥”

In the Telugu edition, it is known as “Sādhana-Pañcha-Ratna-Malika.”

Yati-Pañchaka,⁴⁹ ⁵⁰Vākya-Vṛitti, ⁵¹Viveka-Chūḍāmaṇi, ⁵²Daśa-

⁴⁹ Yati-Pañchaka or Kaupīna-Pañchaka as it is sometimes called, is a collection of 5 stanzas explaining the object and duties of a Sannyāsin. It begins with:

“वेदान्तवाक्येषु सदारमन्तो, भिक्षान्नमात्रेण च तुष्टिमन्तः ।
विशोकमन्तःकरणे रमन्तः, कौपीनवन्तः खलु भाग्यवन्तः ॥”

⁵⁰ Vākya-Vṛitti or Svātmaprakāśikā as it is sometimes known, is a short exposition by Śaṅkara of the leading principles of the Advaita Philosophy in the form of a discourse given by a preceptor to a pupil. It is similar to Advaitānubhūti composed by his Guru, and consists of 51 stanzas excluding the two benedictory verses. It properly begins with:

“तापत्रयार्कसन्तप्तः कश्चिदुद्विग्नमानसः ।
शमादिसाधनैर्युक्तः सद्गुरुं परिपृच्छति ॥”

There is a commentary on this Prakaraṇa called Vākya-Vṛitti-Prakāśikā, said to have been written by Viśveśvara Paṇḍita, a disciple of Mādhava-prājñāguru.

⁵¹ Viveka-Chūḍāmaṇi or Ātmānātma-Viveka-Chūḍāmaṇi-Prakaraṇa as it is more fully styled, is a popular treatise on Vedānta Philosophy consisting of 582 stanzas. It begins with:

“सर्ववेदान्तसिद्धान्तगोचरं तमगोचरम् ।
गोविन्दं परमानन्दं सद्गुरुं प्रणतोऽस्म्यहम् ॥”

and the expression “Govinda” in this poem is said to refer to Śaṅkara's own Guru, which we may well take as a proof of the great esteem that Śaṅkara had for his teacher and of his sincere desire to express his great obligations to his Guru in writing this treatise.

⁵² Daśa-Sloki or Nirvāṇa-Daśaka or Siddhānta-Bindu is a collection of 10 stanzas explaining the nature of the Ātman or Soul by the process of elimination. It begins with:

“नभूमिर्नतोयं न तेजो न वायु,
नखं नेन्द्रियं वा न तेषां समूहः ।

Sloki, ⁵³Ātmanātma-Viveka, Māyā-Vivaraṇa, ⁵⁴Ekādaśotta-

अनेकान्तिकत्वा त्सुषुप्त्येकसिद्ध
स्तदेकोऽवशिष्टः शिवः केवलोऽहम् ॥”

There is a commentary on the same by Madhusūdana Sarasvatī called Siddhānta-Tatva-Bindu upon which there is again a gloss called Nyāya Ratnāvalī by Brahmānanda Svāmī. The Kumbakonam Edition contains all these commentaries.

⁵³ Ātmanātma-Viveka is a prose-work on Advaita Philosophy investigating into the nature of the difference between Soul and Matter and is said to embody the substance of the questions and answers put to and given by Bhartṛihari and Saṅkara respectively at their teacher's hermitage on the bank of the Narmadā. It begins with: “आत्मानात्मविवेकः कथ्यते—आत्मनः किं निमित्तं दुःखम्? शरीरपरिग्रहनिमित्तं दुःखम्, “आत्मना सह वैशरीरस्य सतः प्रियाप्रिययो रपहती” ति श्रुतेः । The work is available with translation.

⁵⁴ Māyā-Vivaraṇa is a dissertation in prose explaining the doctrine of Māyā peculiar to the Advaita Philosophy. The object of the work is explained by Saṅkara himself in his introductory verse which runs as follows:—

“बालानां मुपकाराय ममापि ज्ञानसिद्धये ।
तत्र श्रीबालगोपालकृष्णः सन्निहितो भवेत् ॥”

It consists of 5 Varṇakas or parts respectively known as

- (1) Adhyāropāpavāda-Nirūpaṇa,
- (2) Anubandhachatusṭaya-Nirūpaṇa,
- (3) Prapañchavimarśana-Nirūpaṇa,
- (4) Duh'khādivichāra-Nirūpaṇa, and
- (5) Kartṛitvakārayitṛitvavimarśana-Nirūpaṇa.

Chitsukhāchārya calls this work ‘Vedānta-Pañcha-Prakaranī’ and says that this was composed by Saṅkara at Kalāṭi, just before he took the permission of his mother to become a Sannyāsin. The work actually begins with: “इह खलु धर्मार्थकाममोक्षाणां चतुर्विधपुरुषार्थानां

raśata-Vākya-Grantha, ⁵⁵Pañchīkarana (Pranava-Bhāṣhya), ⁵⁶

मध्ये मोक्ष एव परमपुरुषार्थः ; नित्यत्वात्, “न च पुनरावर्तत” इति श्रुतेः । etc.

⁵⁵ Ekādaśottaraśata-vākya-Grantha, as the name itself indicates, gives in 111 benedictory sentences the substance of the Upanishadic ideas bearing on the Advaita Philosophy as explained by his co-student and friend Bhartṛihari in his commentaries on the Upanishads. It begins with: “शरीरत्रयव्यतिरिक्तावस्यात्रयातीतनित्यनिर्विकारासङ्गस्वप्रकाशापरोक्षनित्यमुक्तसर्वान्तरसच्चिदानन्दसर्वगतपरिपूर्णपरिच्छिन्नाऽद्वितीयशुद्धप्रत्यगात्मानुभवः सम्यग्भूयात्” This and the previous work are still available only in manuscripts.

⁵⁶ Pañchīkarana is a small treatise in prose explaining the process by which the elements undergo combination in the formation of gross bodies. It begins with: “अथातः परमहंसपरिव्राजकानां समासविधिं व्याख्यास्यामः—सच्छब्दवाच्यमविद्याशबलं ब्रह्म । ब्रह्मणोऽव्यक्तम् । अव्यक्तान्महत् । महतोऽहङ्कारः । अहङ्कारात्पञ्चतन्मात्राणि । पञ्चतन्मात्रेभ्यः पञ्चमहाभूतानि । पञ्चमहाभूतेभ्योऽखिलजगत् । etc. The work ends with the following famous stanza :

“ब्रह्म सत्यं, जगन्मिथ्या, जीवो ब्रह्मैव नाऽपरः ।
इति यस्य दृढा बुद्धिः स मुक्तो नाऽत्र संशयः ॥”

In some manuscripts, this work is known under the name of Pranava-Bhāṣhya. It has been published at Bombay in Nagari character with the Vārtika of Sureśvarāchārya, called Pañchīkarana-Vārtika or Pranava-Bhāṣhya-Vārtika, the Vivaraṇa of Ānandajñāna, disciple of Śuddhānanda, more generally known as Ānandagiri, called Pañchīkarana-Vivaraṇa, and the Tika of Rama Tirtha, called Chandrikā. There is also a gloss on Pañchīkarana-Vārtika by Abhinava Nārāyaṇendra Sarasvatī called Pañchīkarana-Vārtikābharana, but it is still unpublished.

Bala-Bodhini⁵⁷ and Raja-Yoga-Bhāshya.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Bala-Bodhini is a small work in prose explaining the Pañcha-Kośas or the five sheaths of the body according to the Advaitic interpretations. It is available only in manuscripts and begins with:

“प्रणम्य परमानन्दं मोहान्धतिमिरापहम् ।
तत्प्रसादबलेनैव क्रियते बालबोधिनी ॥
यस्य स्मरणमात्रेण क्षीयन्ते भवभीतयः ।
तं सर्वसाक्षिणं यामि शरणं कृपणोऽप्यहम् ॥

हरिः ओम् । अथात्मा कादृशः? सद्रूप सर्वदाभावरूपम् ।
चिद्रूपं, विशुद्धबोधरूपम् । आनन्द-सुखरूपम् । सत्यमबाधितम् ।
नित्यं कालत्रयावस्थायि । कूटस्थ मविकारि । अस्थूलादिगुणवत्
प्रत्यक्बोधैकरूपं, आदिमध्यान्तरहितमेव आत्मवस्तु ।” etc. The
colophon at the end runs as follows: इति श्रीमच्छङ्कराचार्यविरचिता
यांबलाबोधिन्यां पञ्चकोशविवेकप्रकरणं संपूर्णम् ।”

This is not to be confounded with Bala-Bodha-Saṅgraha which
Sāṅkara is said to have composed at Kālaṭi, while he was still studying
in his Gurukula. That is also a prose work on the chief principles of
Adhyātmavidyā, but is quite distinct from Bala-Bodhini. It is a much
larger work and begins with: “ओम् अध्यात्मविद्याप्रबोधप्रकारं
व्याख्यास्यामः । अधिभौतिकाधिदैविकाध्यात्मिकादितापत्रयाग्निस-
न्तप्तः सकलसाधनोपत्ते, संसारा द्विरज्य शिष्यः सद्गुरुं शरणं
गत्वा, साष्टाङ्गं प्रणिपत्य, विज्ञापनं करोति । ‘भो स्वामिन् !
मम संसारनिवृत्तिः कुरु’ इति । गुरु रुवाच-‘अरे शिष्य ! तव
संसारनिवृत्तिं ज्ञानेन भवितव्या ।” etc. The colophon at the end
runs as follows: “इति श्रीशङ्कराचार्य कृतो बालबोधसङ्ग्रहः
समाप्तः ।” This work also is still available only in manuscripts.

⁵⁸ Raja-Yoga-Bhāshya, more often known as Vijñāmbhita-Yoga-
sūtra-Bhāshya is generally supposed to be a commentary on Raja-Yoga-
Sāra or Yoga-Tārāvali of Govinda Bhagavatpāda. As is the case with
his Praṇava-Bhāshya, this work also is an independent treatise. It may,

Among the various works taught to Sāṅkara by his
Guru, none impressed him so much as the Kārikās of Śrī
Gaudapādācharya ; he found in them, in a nut-shell as it
were, the principles of Vedānta Philosophy which he after-
wards so ably and elaborately worked out into his own
Advaita Darśana and he at once expressed his desire to see

no doubt, bring out the substance of his Guru's Yoga-Tārāvali, but is
certainly not a commentary on the said work in the strict sense of the
term. The work begins with these words :

“एवं हठयोगलक्षण विस्तरेण निशम्य प्राकृतः सद्गुरु मेव
मवादीत्, राजयोगं वद कृपयेति । स तु विनयसद्वचनं गुरुभक्ता-
ग्रगण्यं शिष्यं ‘शृणु सावधानेन’ त्यादरेणेदमाह । राजयोगः राजोप-
युक्तयोगः, तथोच्यते योगानां राजेति वा राजयोगः; पूर्वोक्तयोगा
देहप्रयासकाः, अयं तु निरायासेन मोक्षरूपपुरुषार्थप्रदः ।” etc.
The work ends as follows:—“तस्मात् संसारा त्रिविण्णः परमयोगं
ब्रह्ममार्गं मवलंब्य मूलाधारस्थकुण्डलिनोसमुत्थितवायुं इडापिङ्गला-
सञ्चारं केवलमुत्क्रमेण सुषुम्नाविलं प्राप्य, तदुद्घाटितवैपुल्य-
स्तन्मार्गेण ब्रह्मविष्णुरुद्र ग्रन्थिभेदपुरःसरं आज्ञाविजृम्भमाणान्नि-
सूर्यतेजःकूटरूपापास्फोटनसहस्रदलायमानतेजो भूत्वा, तत्समीप-
विश्वव्योमा, अवाप्तपरिपूर्णचन्द्रमण्डलनिष्ठसान्द्रामृत निष्यन्द-
बिन्दुसन्दोहपानपरितृप्तः सदानन्दरूपनिश्चयं प्राप्य, निःसंशय-
तत्त्वाकाशो भूत्वा सदानन्दावधूतकृपालेशा न्मुक्तोऽस्मीति भावि-
तव्यः ॥ इति श्रीमत्परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यश्रीगोविन्दभगवत्पाद-
पूज्यशिष्यश्रीशङ्कराचार्यविरचितं विजृम्भित योगसूत्रभाष्यं
संपूर्णम् ॥” As the work is still in manuscripts, we have quoted the
introductory and concluding passages from which it will be clear that it
is an independent treatise in prose on Raja-Yoga. As the language
is not yet quite settled, Raja-Yoga-Bhāshya must be one of the earliest
productions of Sāṅkara belonging to this period. This work is not
however specifically mentioned by Chitsukhācharya as one of the works
of Sāṅkara.

his Paramaguru and to request his permission to write an elaborate commentary on the same. Govind Bhagavatpāda was so much pleased with the suggestion that he at once took his worthy pupil to his Guru, Sri, Gauḍapadāchārya at Badrikāśrama on the Himalayas. Śaṅkara was extremely delighted to see his Paramaguru who was then said to have been 120 years old, engaged in Brahmanishthā and simply waiting for the arrival of the young Praśishya who was to establish the Advaita Philosophy started by him and by his Guru. On being introduced by Govinda Bhagavatpāda, Śaṅkara went and prostrated himself before the feet of his Paramaguru and Gauḍapāda was most happy to welcome him as one of his own pupils in future and offered to teach him all he knew. Śaṅkara studied directly under Gauḍapāda for four years, composing many of his most important minor works on the Vedānta such as Shatpadi,⁶⁰ Hari-Stuti⁶¹ Sata-

⁶⁰ Shatpadi is a Stotra in 6 stanzas in praise of Nārāyaṇa. It begins with.

“अविनय मपनय विष्णो दमय मनः शमय विषयमृगतृष्णाम् ।
भूतदयां विस्तारय तारय संसारसागरतः ॥”

This poem contains the following famous stanza, which shows clearly what was Śaṅkara's Philosophy and Religion for all practical purposes. The stanza runs as follows :

“सत्यपि भेदापगमे नाथ तवाहं न मामकीन स्त्वम् ।
सामुद्रो हि तरङ्गः, क्वचन समुद्रो न तारङ्गः ॥

The concluding stanza, which is given as the 7th stanza runs as follows :

“नारायण करुणामय शरणं करवाणि तावकौ चरणौ ।
इति षट्पदी मदीये वदनसरोजे सदा वसतु ॥”

⁶¹ Hari-Stuti more generally known as Hariṁ-Īde-Stotra from the concluding words occurring in every stanza, is a beautiful poem in 43 verses beginning with :

Sloki⁶¹ (Vedānta-Kesari), Svātma-Nirupana,⁶² Paramārtha-

“स्तोष्ये भक्त्या विष्णु मनादि जगदादि,
यस्मिन्नेतत् संसृतिचक्रं भ्रमतीत्यम् ।
यस्मिन् दृष्टे नश्यति तत्संसृतिचक्रं तं
ससारध्वान्तविनाशं हरि मीडे ॥”

The 44th stanza which concludes the work runs as follows :

“इत्थं स्तोत्रं भक्तजनेड्यं भवभीति-
ध्वान्तार्काभं भगवत्पादीय मिदं यः ।
विष्णोर्लोकं पठति शृणोति व्रजतिज्ञो
ज्ञानं ज्ञेयं स्वात्मनिचाप्नोति मनुष्यः ॥”

It is available in Nāgari character with the commentary of Svayam-prakāśa Yati called Hari-Tatva-Muktāvali.

⁶¹ Sata-Sloki as the name itself indicates consists of 100 stanzas. It is one of the most beautiful Vedāntic poems written by Śaṅkara at Badarikāśrama, where his devotion to Nārāyaṇa was unbounded. It is also known as Vedānta-Kesari and begins as follows :

“दृष्टान्तो नैवदृष्ट स्त्रिभुवनजटरे सद्गुरो ज्ञानदातुः
स्पर्शश्चे तत्र कल्प्यः स नयति यदहो स्वर्गता मश्मसारम् ।
न स्पर्शत्वं तथापि श्रितचरणयुगे सद्गुरुः स्वीयशिष्ये
स्वीयं साम्यं विधत्ते भवति निरुपमस्तेन चालौकिकोऽपि ॥”

The concluding stanza runs as follows :—

“जातं मय्येव सर्वं पुनरपि मयि तत्संस्थितं चैव विश्वं
सर्वं मय्येव याति प्रतिलयमिति तद्द्रष्टुं चैवाह मस्मि ।
यस्य स्मृत्याच यज्ञाद्यखिलशुभविधौ सुप्रयातीह कार्यं
न्यूनं संपूर्णतां वै त मह मतिमुदैवाच्युतं सन्नतोऽस्मि ॥”

It is printed with the commentary of Ānandagiri known as Sata-Sloki-Bhāshya.

⁶² Svātma-Nirupāṇa is a beautiful Vedāntic poem consisting of 156 stanzas in Ārya metre beginning with :

Sāra Saṅgraha⁶³ and Praudhānubhūti Prakaraṇa.⁶⁴ On one of those days Śaṅkara obtained the desired permission

“श्रीगुचरणद्वन्द्वं वन्देऽहं मथितदुःसहद्वन्द्वम् ।

भ्रान्तिग्रहोपशान्तिं पांसुमयं यस्य भसित मातनुते ॥

It is printed at Bombay with the commentary of Sachchidananda Sarasvati.

⁶³ Paramārtha-Sāra-Saṅgraha, also sometimes known as *Bodhāryā* is a small beautiful poem in 33 stanzas in the Ārya metre pointing out that the salvation of the Soul does not depend upon the study of Prasthānatraya, but results solely through the realization of Brahman. It begins with:

“आत्मावबोधनपराः कुणपशरीराभिमानपरितुष्टाः ।

वारिजबुद्बुदरक्षां मूढाः कुर्वन्ति लोहबन्धेन ॥ १ ॥

जलमिव मृगतृष्णायां, शुक्तौ रजतं, यथा फणी रज्वाम् ।

सत्यमिवाऽसत्यमिदं कल्पितमाभाति मयि परानन्दे ॥ २ ॥

The following are some of the stanzas often quoted by the Vedāntins from this beautiful poem:

“दन्तिनि दारुविकारे, दारुतिरोभवति, सोऽपि तत्रैव ।

जगति तथा परमात्मा, परमात्मन्यपि जगतिरोधत्ते ॥ ५ ॥”

अस्ति स्वयमित्यस्मिन्नर्थे कस्यास्ति संशयः पुंसः ।

तत्राऽपि संशयश्चेत् संशयितायः स एव भवसि त्वम् ॥ १४ ॥”

The poem is concluded by the following stanzas:—

“यन्नेत्यादिग्रन्थैरात्मा शक्यो मुमुक्षुभिर्ज्ञातुम् ।

प्रस्थानत्रयपठनं पर्वतखननेन मूषिकग्रहणम् ॥ ३२ ॥

ज्ञाते ब्रह्मणि चित्ते तिष्ठति तत्रैव चरति यः पश्चात् ।

पुनरपि तत्रैवास्ते निधिरिव नौस्तम्भका इति ॥ ३३ ॥”

It is a pity that this excellent poem has not yet been published in any of the characters, though it is completely available in manuscripts.

⁶⁴ Praudhānubhūti-Prakaraṇa is a grand Vedāntic poem in 17 stanzas on the model of Dasa-Śloki. It begins with:

to write a commentary on his Paramaguru's Māṇḍūkyaopaniṣad-Kārikās accordingly wrote his famous⁶⁵ Bhāṣhya on the same as if preparatory to his Bhāṣhyas on the Prasthānatraya which he was soon ordained to write. Gauḍapāda was so much pleased with his Māṇḍūkyaopaniṣad-Kārikā-Bhāṣhya that he requested him to write similar commentaries

“द्वैतं मय्यखिलं समुत्थितमिदं मिथ्यामनःकल्पितं

तोयं तोयविवाजितं मरुतले भ्रान्त्यैव सिद्धं न हि ।

यद्येवं खलु दृश्यमेतदखिलं नाहं नवा तन्मम

प्रौढानन्दचिदेकसन्मयवपुः शुद्धोऽस्म्यखण्डोऽस्म्यहम् ॥”

The concluding stanza runs as follows:—

“स्वारस्यैकसुबोधचारुमनसे प्रौढानुभूतिस्त्विदं

दातव्या न तु मोहदग्धकुक्षिये दुष्टान्तरङ्गाय च ।

येयं रम्यविटपितोत्तमशिरः प्राप्ता चकास्ति स्वयं

सा चेन्मर्कटहस्तदेशपतिता किं राजते केतकी ॥”

The work is still available only in manuscripts.

⁶⁵ The Bhāṣhya of Śaṅkara on the Māṇḍūkyaopaniṣad-Kārikās of Gauḍapāda forms as it were an introduction to his Bhāṣhyas on the Vedānta Prasthāna-Traya. The Kārikās consist of 215 Anuṣṭubh-verses divided into four Prakaraṇas or Chapters respectively headed Āgama-Prakaraṇa (Chapter on Scripture), Vaitathya-Prakaraṇa (Chapter on Illusion), Advaita-Prakaraṇa (Chapter on Monism) and Alātaśānti-Prakaraṇa (Chapter on Quenching of the fire-brand). The Bhāṣhya begins with the following stanza:—

“प्रज्ञानांशुप्रतानैः स्थिरचरनिकरव्यपिभिर्व्याप्यलोकान्

भुक्तवाभोगान्स्थविष्ठान् पुनरपि धिषणोद्भासितान् कामजन्यान् ।

पीत्वा सर्वान् विशेषान् स्वपिति मधुरमुङ् मायया भोजयन्नो

मायासंख्यातुरीयं परममृतमजं ब्रह्म यत्तन्नोऽस्मि ॥”

As is the case with his other Bhāṣhyas, there is also a gloss on Śaṅkara's Māṇḍūkyakārikā-Bhāṣhya by Ānandagiri. In the colophon at the end, the Bhāṣhya is described as Gauḍapādiyāgama Śāstra Vivaraṇa.

on the Vedānta-Prasthāna-Traya and thereby to establish the supremacy of the Advaita School of Vedānta Philosophy in the world for all times to come.

It was during those four short years that Śaṅkara exhibited his marvellous and almost superhuman activity by composing his world-renowned Shodasa-Bhāṣyas or the Sixteen Commentaries on the Vedānta-Prasthāna-Traya. The exact order in which Śaṅkara wrote his Bhāṣyas on the Prasthāna-Traya is not definitely known. It is however, clear from his works that he began to write his commentaries on the Smṛiti Prasthāna which he included in his time portions of the Mahābhārata, such as Bhagavad-Gītā, Uttara-Gītā, Anu-Gītā, Sanatsujātiya and Viṣṇu-Sahasranāma-Stotra. As Uttara-Gītā and Anu-Gītā had already been commented upon by his Paramaguru, Śaṅkara wrote his commentaries only on the remaining works of the Smṛiti-Prasthāna—Viṣṇu-Sahasranāma-Stotra,⁶⁶ Sanatsujātiya⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Viṣṇu-Sahasranāma-Stotra is one of the most precious gems dug out of the mine of Mahābhārata, forming, as it does, the 149th Adhyāya of the Ānuśāsanika Parva of the Mahābhārata. It consists of 142 stanzas beginning with :

श्रीवैशम्पायन उवाच—

“श्रुत्वा धर्मानशेषेण पावनानि च सर्वशः ।

युधिष्ठिरः शान्तनवं पुनरेवाभ्यभाषत ॥”

It is very likely that Viṣṇu-Sahasranāma-Bhāṣya is the first of the Shodasa-Bhāṣyas composed by Śaṅkara. There is a gloss on the same by Tāraka Brahmananda Sarasvati, but it is available only in manuscripts, although the Bhāṣya itself has been published in various characters.

⁶⁷ Sanatsujātiya or Sanatsujātiya Gītā, as it is sometimes called, is a dialogue between Dhṛitarāshṭra and Sanatsujata and consists of four chapters forming the Sanatsujata Upaparva of the Udyoga Parva of the Mahābhārata. Śaṅkara's Bhāṣya on the same is known as

and Bhagavad-Gītā—⁶⁸ following the model of his Paramaguru's commentaries on Uttara-Gītā and Anu-Gītā.

Śaṅkara's attention was, then, directed to Śruti-Prasthāna, which included in his time Svetāśvatara and Nṛsihmatāpanī and one or two others like Kaushītakī and Maitreyī, besides the Ten Principal Upanishads enumerated in the following stanza :

“ईश-केन-कठ-प्रश्न-मुण्ड-माण्डूक्य-तित्तिरिः ।

ऐतरेयं च, छान्दोग्यं, बृहदारण्यकं, दश ॥”

It is said that at the request of his Paramaguru, Śaṅkara began to write his Bhāṣya on the Upanishads

Sanatsujātiya-Vivaraṇa and is probably the second of his sixteen commentaries. The Bhāṣya on Sanatsujātiya has been published by the Mysore Government in Nāgarī character along with his Sahasranāma-Bhāṣya.

⁶⁸ The Bhagavad-Gītā or the Divine Song is a dialogue between Śrī Kṛishṇa and Arjuna. It forms Adhyāya XXV to Adhyāya XLII of the Bhishma Parva of the Mahābhārata and it fits in so naturally with the narrative of the great epic that it cannot be said to be a later interpolation, but must, like the main story of the Great War, be assigned to the beginning of the Kali Yuga about 3102 B. C. The dialogue is said to have taken place just before the actual commencement of the Mahābhārata War between the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas which took place 37 years before the Kali Yuga, i.e., about 3139 B. C. Śrī Kṛishṇa could not have possibly spoken it in the form in which it is now available to its readers, any more than the other dialogues in the Mahābhārata were held in verse, but that it embodies his teachings in full and was compiled by Veda Vyāsa at the beginning of the Kali Yuga as a portion of the Mahābhārata, is undoubted. It is justly described to be “the milk of all the Upanishads” and “the essence of all the Śāstras.” A host of commentators have commented upon the Bhagavad-Gītā, but they all want the depth and originality of Śaṅkara. Śaṅkara's Bhagavat-Gītā-Bhāṣya has been commented upon by Ānandagiri, his most correct

with Nṛsihṃa-Pūrva-Tāpanīyopanishad,⁶⁹ as Gauḍapāda had already written a Vivaraṇa in verses on the Nṛsihṃmottaratāpanīyopanishad. He then wrote his famous Bhāṣhyas on the Daśopanishads, which stand unrivalled to this day as the best exposition on the Upanishads. The order in which he wrote them cannot now be definitely ascertained, but we may assume for all practical purposes that he wrote his Bhāṣhyas on the Upanishads in the following order: (I) ⁷⁰ Īśāvāsyopanishad-Bhāṣhya,

expounder; and the Text, Bhāṣhya and Tikā has been published in the Ānandāśrama Series at Poona with several Anukramanikās. It has also been translated into several languages and is certainly the earliest commentary available on Gītā. There is no lack of Advaitic commentaries on Bhagavad-Gītā in Sanskrit, but the most read of these after Saṅkara's are Saṅkarānanda's, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's and Śrīdhara's. Saṅkarānanda's Gītā-Tātparyā-Bodhinī is, perhaps, the best Advaitic commentary on the Bhagavad-Gītā.

⁶⁹ Nṛsihṃa-Pūrva-Tāpanīyopanishad belongs to the Adharvaṇa Veda and consists of five Upanishads. Saṅkara's commentary on the same is known as 'Ādharvaṇa-Tāpanīyopanishad-Bhāṣhya' and the colophon at the end of the fifth Upanishad runs as follows:—"इति श्रीगोविन्दभगवत्पूज्यपादशिष्यस्य परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यश्रीशङ्करभगवतः आद्यकृतौ आधर्वणतापनीयोपनिषद्भाष्ये पञ्चमोपनिषद्भाष्यं संपूर्णम् ।" It has been published in the Ānandāśrama Series together with the Dīpikā of Vidyāranya on the Nṛsihṃmottara-Tāpanīyopanishad. Both these Upanishads are available in manuscripts with the Dīpikā of Saṅkarānanda, the famous commentator of almost all the important Upanishads.

⁷⁰ Īśāvāsyopanishad is the fortieth or the last chapter of the Sukla Yajur Veda Samhitā and is named after opening words "Īśāvāsyam." It is also called the Vajasaneyā-Samhitopanishad. Saṅkara's Bhāṣhya on this Upanishad together with the gloss (Tikā) thereon by Ānandagiri is available with translations in almost all the languages of India.

(II) ⁷¹ Kenopanishad-Bhāṣhya, (III) ⁷² Kathopanishad-

It has been published in the Ānandāśrama Series together with the following additional commentaries, viz.

- (a) Uvaṭāchārya's Īśāvāsyā-Bhāṣhā,
- (b) Ānandabhaṭṭopādhyāya's Īśāvāsyā-Bhāṣhya,
- (c) Anantāchārya's Īśāvāsyā-Bhāṣhya,
- (d) Brahmānanda Sarasvatī's Īśāvāsyā-Rahasya.
- (e) Saṅkarānanda's Īśāvāsyā-Dīpikā, and
- (f) Rāmachandra Paṇḍita's Īśāvāsyā-Rahasya-Vivṛiti.

⁷¹ Kenopanishad, also named after its opening word, is called the Talavakāropanishad and belongs to a Śakhā of the Sāma Veda. The Kenopanishad-Bhāṣhya of Saṅkara is available in most of the languages of India with its translations. The Ānandāśrama Series contains not only the Bhāṣhya of Saṅkara and the Tikā of Ānandagiri, but also the Dīpikās of Saṅkarānanda and Nārāyaṇa on the Kenopanishad. It is to be noted that Saṅkara has written two commentaries on this Upanishad, a Pada-Bhāṣhya and a Vākya-Bhāṣhya, one explaining the meaning of the Upanishad word by word, and the other explaining its meaning by general context.

⁷² The Kathopanishad or Kāṭhakopanishad or Kathavallyupanishad, as it is variously called, belongs to the Kāṭha Śakhā of the Kṛishṇa Yajur Veda and consists of 2 Adhyāyas, each comprising 3 Vallis or Sections and the Upanishad tells us the story of Nachiketas and his instructions in Brahmavidyā by the God of Death. Saṅkara's Bhāṣhya on this Upanishad is known as Kāṭhakopanishad-Bhāṣhya. There are two glosses on this Bhāṣhya, one by Ānandagiri known as Kāṭhavallī-Bhāṣhya-Tikā, and another by Gopāleन्द्रa Yatīśvara known as Kāṭhakopanishad-Bhāṣhya-Vivaraṇa; and all these commentaries are printed together in one volume in the Ānandāśrama Series.

⁷³ Praśnopanishad, as the name itself indicates, is the Upanishad of Questions, and belongs to the Pippalāda Śakhā of the Adharvaṇa Veda. It consists of six Praśnas or Questions. Saṅkara's Bhāṣhya and Ānandagiri's Tikā thereon are published in the Ānandāśrama Series.

Bhāshya, (IV) ⁷³ Praśnopanishad-Bhāshya, (V) ⁷⁴ Muṇḍakopanishad-Bhāshya, (VI) ⁷⁵ Māṇḍūkyaopanishad-Bhāshya,

together with the Praśnopanishad-Dīpikā of Śaṅkarānanda. There is also a gloss on Śaṅkara's Praśnopanishad-Bhāshya by Nārāyaṇendra Sarasvatī, pupil of Jñānendra Sarasvatī, whose preceptor was Kaivalyendra Sarasvatī. It is still available only in manuscripts and is styled Praśnopanishad-Bhāshya-Vivaraṇa,

⁷⁴ Muṇḍakopanishad is the Upanishad of the Muṇḍaka or razor which cuts the knot of ignorance. It belongs to the Saunaka Śākhā of the Adharvana Veda. It consists of 3 Muṇḍakas or Parts, each divided into two Khaṇḍas of Sections. Śaṅkara's Bhāshya on the Muṇḍakopanishad and Ānandagiri's Tīkā thereon are published in the Ānandāśrama Series together with Nārāyaṇa's Muṇḍakopanishad, Dīpikā. There is also a gloss on Śaṅkara's Bhāshya on the Muṇḍakopanishad by Sivananda Yatīśa called Muṇḍakopanishad-Bhāshya-Tippaṇa. The colophon at the end of this Tippaṇa has the following stanzas :

“ शिवानन्दै रिदं काश्यां लिखित्वा प्रेषितं मुदा ।
चोळदेशस्थभिक्षूणा मुत्ताराय केवलम् ॥
भगवत्पादभाष्यस्य भावगाम्भीर्यवेदिना ।
शिवानन्दयतीशेन टिप्पणं कृतं मदरात् ॥ ”

⁷⁵ Māṇḍūkyaopanishad is called from its Rishi Māṇḍūkā. It belongs to the Saunaka-Śākhā of the Adharvana Veda. The Upanishad proper consists only 12 Vākyas, describing the meaning and the power of Praṇava or the mystic Om, as a means of knowing the nature and the reality of Brahman. Gauḍapāda's Kārikās in interpretation of the Upanishads in general is considered by some to form part of the Māṇḍūkyaopanishad itself, and the first Prakaraṇa of Gauḍapāda-Kārikā is actually mixed up with it. Śaṅkara has written a Bhāshya not only on the Māṇḍūkyaopanishad but also on the Kārikās of Gauḍapāda on the same Upanishad. After composing his Bhāshya on the Upanishad, Śaṅkara seems to have incorporated his Bhāshya on the Māṇḍūkya-Kārikās of his Paramaguru and treated them both as one Upanishad. Śaṅkara's Bhāshya on the Māṇḍūkyaopanishad as well as on Gauḍapāda's Māṇḍūkya-Kārikās, together with Ānandagiri's

(VII) ⁷⁶ Taittirīyopanishad-Bhāshya, (VIII) ⁷⁷ Aitareyopani-

Tīkā thereon has been published in the Ānandāśrama Series along with Śaṅkarānanda's Dīpikā on the Māṇḍūkya Upanishad. In some of the manuscripts we find the name of Ānandagiri variously given as Ānandātman, Ānanda, Ānandajñāna : but he is invariably described as the disciple of Suddhānanda, the fourth Āchārya after Śaṅkara in the Kāñchī-maṭha, who is said to have attained his Brahmībhava in the year (Nalā) 2906 of the Kali Yuga corresponding to 196 B. C.

⁷⁶ The Taittirīyopanishad, called after the sage Tittiri, belongs to the Taittirīya Śākhā of the Kṛishṇa Yajur Veda. It forms the 7th, 8th and 9th Prapāṭhakas of the Taittirīyāraṇyaka, and the three parts are respectively known under the names : Śikshāvallī, Brahnavallī, and Bhṛguvallī. Later on, the 10th Prapāṭhaka, beginning with “अम्भस्य पारे” came to be considered as a part of the Taittirīyopanishad ; but during the time of Śaṅkara, only the three Vallīs beginning with “शं नो मित्रः शं वरुणः” “ब्रह्मवि दाप्नोति परम्”, “भृगुर्वै वारुणिः” was considered to constitute the Taittirīyopanishad proper, and he has accordingly written his Bhāshya only on these three Vallīs. Ānandagiri's Tīkā also is confined to these three Vallīs, and both are published in the Ānandāśrama Series, along with Śaṅkarānanda's Taittirīyopanishad-Dīpikā, which is also confined to these three Vallīs. There is also a Vārtikā on Śaṅkara's Bhāshya on the Taittirīyopanishad by Sureśvarāchārya, which is also published in a separate volume in the Ānandāśrama Series under the name of Taittirīyopanishad-Bhāshya-Vārtikā of Sureśvarāchārya, together with the Tīkā of Ānandagiri thereon. It is only Vidyāraṇya that has, for the first time, commented upon all these four Prapāṭhakas as Upanishads and his commentary which forms an excellent exposition of Śaṅkara's views is also published as a separate volume of the Ānandāśrama Series. Paṇḍit A. Mahādeva Śāstri has collected all these commentaries on the Taittirīyopanishad and has published an excellent English translation of the same under the name of Vedic Religion.

⁷⁷ The Aitareyopanishad derives its name from the Rishi Aitareya and it forms part of the Aitareyāraṇyaka of the Rig Veda. In fact, Adhyāyas 4 to 7 of the second Praśna of the Aitareyāraṇyaka constitute the Aitareyopanishad ; and Śaṅkara's Bhāshya and Ānandagiri's Tīkā

shad-Bhāshya, (IX) ⁷⁸ Chhāndogyopanishad-Bhāshya, and (X) ⁷⁹ Bṛihadāraṇyakopanishad-Bhāshya. Besides the

thereon are confined to these four Adhyāyas. The second and third Praśnas of the Aitareyāranyaka are known by the general name of Bahvrichabrahmanopanishad, while Adhyāyas 4 to 7 of the second Praśna are more particularly named as the Aitareyopanishad. Hence the colophon at the end of Saṅkara's Bhāshya on the Aitareyopanishad runs as follows: "इति श्रीमद्गोविन्दभगवत्पूज्यपादशिष्यश्रीमत्परम-हंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यस्य श्रीमच्छङ्करभगवत्पादस्य कृतौ बहवृच-ब्राह्मणोपनिषद्भाष्यं संपूर्णम्." Saṅkara's Bhāshya on this Upanishad along with Ānandagiri's Tika thereon is published in the Ānandāśrama Series, and it contains also Vidyāraṇya's commentaries called Aitareyopanishad-Dīpikā.

⁷⁸ The Chhāndogyopanishad forms a portion of the Chhāndogya-Brahmaṇa of the Sāma Veda. Of the 10 Prapāṭhakas which constitute the Chhāndogya-Brahmaṇa, the first two are called the Chhāndogya-Mantra-Brahmaṇa, the remaining eight chapters or Prapāṭhakas constituting the Chhāndogya Upanishad. According to Chitsukhāchārya, Saṅkara is said to have commented not only on the Upanishad portion but also on the Mantra portion; but it is a pity that nothing is known about his Bhāshya on the first two chapters of the Chhāndogya Brahman. Further, the abruptness and brevity of Saṅkara's Introduction to this Upanishad clearly shows that he must have already commented upon the first two chapters constituting the Mantra portion of the Chhāndogya Brahman. The Upanishad is published in the Ānandāśrama Series with Ānandagiri's Tika thereon.

⁷⁹ The Bṛihadāraṇyakopanishad is undoubtedly the biggest and the most important of the Ten Principal Upanishads. It forms a portion of the Bṛihadāraṇyaka of the Kāṇva Śakha of the Sukla Yajur Veda, and it consists of Adhyāyas III to VIII of the said Āraṇyaka. The first Adhyāya of the Upanishad treats of Avidyā, the next three chapters contain a lengthy discourse between Janakavideha and Yājñavalkya regarding the true nature of the Supreme Being and of His relation to the Universe. The fifth and sixth chapters deal with various Upāsanas leading to the attainment of the highest wisdom. As Saṅkara's Bhāshya on the Bṛihadāraṇyakopanishad forms the key for

commentaries on these Eleven Upanishads and that on the Māṇḍūkya-Kārikās, which Saṅkara made part and parcel of the Māṇḍūkyaopanishad itself, a commentary on the ⁸⁰ Svetāśvataropanishad is also ascribed to him. A perusal

all the Upanishads, Sureśvara has written an exhaustive Vārtika on the same under the name of Bṛihadāraṇyakopanishad-Bhāshya-Vārtika. The first portion of the Vārtika dealing generally with the Upanishads is known as Sambandha-Vārtika. Both the Bhāshya of Saṅkara and the Vārtika of Sureśvarāchārya are published in four separate volumes in the Ānandāśrama Series along with the Tikās of Ānandagiri on both the Bhāshya and the Vārtika. On the lines followed by Saṅkara, there is also a small but a beautiful commentary on the Bṛihadāraṇyakopanishad called Mitāksharā said to have been composed by Nityānandāśrama, a disciple of Purushottama, and the said commentary is also published in a separate volume in the Ānandāśrama Series. While the Bhāshyas of Saṅkara on all the other Upanishads have been translated and published in various languages, there has not been as yet published a single translation of the Bṛihadāraṇyakopanishad-Bhāshya, which is the best of Saṅkara's Bhāshyas on the Upanishads.

⁸⁰ The Svetāśvataropanishad derives its name from the sage Svetāśvatara and forms a portion of the Kṛishṇa Yajur Veda. It consists of six Adhyāyas and it is pre-eminently the Upanishad of Devotion. It explains the essential nature of the Supreme Soul and of the Individual Souls and of their relation to Isvara on the one hand and to Jagat on the other. There is no doubt a Bhāshya on the said Upanishad ascribed to Saṅkarāchārya, but a perusal of the same will clearly show that it is not the work of Ādi Saṅkara, the admitted commentator of the Daśopanishads. It is published in the Ānandāśrama Series along with the Dīpikas of Saṅkarānanda and Nārāyaṇa and the Vivaraṇa of Bhagavad Vijñānottama, a pupil of Jñānottama. The learned Editor is also of opinion that it is not the work of Saṅkara, but only of some one of his successors who assumed the title of Saṅkarāchārya. The long list of quotations found at the beginning of the Bhāshya and the authorities referred to by the commentator will suffice to show that it is the work of a much later writer than Saṅkara, the Founder of the Advaita Philosophy.

of the said commentary will clearly show that it is not the hand-work of A'di Saṅkara, but, as we shall point out in the next chapter, it is the hand-work of Abhinava Saṅkara, one of the greatest of the Successors of Saṅkara who bore not only the same title but also the same name as the first Saṅkara.

The last and the most important of the Sixteen Commentaries (Shoḍaśa-Bhāṣhyas) composed by Saṅkara at this period was, of course, his ⁸¹ Bhāṣhya on the Vedānta

⁸¹ The Saṅkara Bhāṣhya on the Vedānta Sāstras is generally known as Sārīraka-Mīmāṃsā-Bhāṣhya. It is the authority most generally referred to in India as to the right understanding of the Vedānta Sūtras, and ever since Saṅkara's time, the majority of the best thinkers of India have been men adhering to his school. There have been written several Tikās and Vivaraṇas on Saṅkara's Bhāṣhya on the Vedānta Sūtras, but the most important and earliest of such glosses is that of Padmapādāchārya, one of the direct disciples of Saṅkara, known as Pañchapādikā, which is, however, an incomplete commentary. There is a commentary on this Pañchapādikā by Prakāśatma Yati, and it has been recently published at Benares under the name of Pañchapādikā-Vivaraṇa. There is also a gloss on this Vivaraṇa by Śrī Rāmananda Sarasvatī and the same has been published in the Chaukāmbā Sanskrit Series under the name of Pañchapādikā-Vivaraṇopanyāsa. There is also another commentary called Tatva-Dīpana on Prakāśatma Yati's Pañchapādikā-Vivaraṇa by Akhaṇḍananda Muni. There is again another commentary on Pañchapādikā-Vivaraṇa called Bhāva-Prakāśikā by Nṛsiṃhaśramamuni, a disciple of Jagannāthaśrama, but it is only available in manuscripts.

The next important commentary on Saṅkara's Brahma-Sūtra-Bhāṣhya is Bhāmatī by Śrī Vāchaspati Miśra, one of the best expounders of Saṅkara's Philosophy. Vedānta-Kalpataru is a gloss on Bhāmatī by Amalananda and it is published at Benares in two parts. There is again a gloss on this Vedānta-Kalpataru by Appayya Dīkshita, the celebrated Sanskrit scholar of Southern India and it is also published under the name of "Parimala" at Benares in three parts.

Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa. Whole hosts of commentators have commented upon the Brahma Sūtras but ⁸² they all want the

There are also four more commentaries available on Saṅkara's Brahma-Sūtra-Bhāṣya, and they may be mentioned in the following order. The first and the foremost of them is Sārīraka-Nyāya-Nirṇaya a regular commentary on Saṅkara Bhāṣhya by his famous expounder Ānandagiri or Ānandajñāna, the disciple of Suddhananda. The next is Bhāṣhyaratna-Prabhā, an equally famous commentary on Saṅkara Bhāṣhya by Govindānanda and it is also sometimes known as 'Rāmānandīyam.' Brahma-vidyābharāṇa is another profound commentary on Saṅkara-Bhāṣhya by Advaitānanda Sarasvatī, a disciple of Rāmānanda Tīrtha who was himself a disciple of Bhāmananda. The last and perhaps the most important of the commentaries on Saṅkara's Brahma-Sūtra-Bhāṣhya though still unpublished, is Sārīraka-Nyāya-Rakṣhamaṇi, a commentary by Appayya Dīkshita. This is not to be confounded either with his Parimala, a commentary on Vedānta-Kalpataru, or with his Sivarkamaṇi-Dīpikā, a commentary on Śrīkaṭha's Brahma-Sūtra-Bhāṣya. The colophon at the end of the 1st Pada of the 1st Adhyāya runs as follows: "इति श्रीमद्भारद्वाजकुलजलधि कौस्तुभ श्रीमदद्वैतविद्याचार्यश्रीविश्वजिज्ञाजिश्चैरङ्गराजाध्वरिवर-सूनोरप्पयदीक्षितरच कृतौ शारीरकन्यायरक्षामणौ प्रथमाध्यायस्य प्रथमपादः ॥"

Besides these, we have two more poetical commentaries on Saṅkara's Brahma-Sūtra-Bhāṣhya, one called Vedāntādhikaraṇa-Nyāya-Mālā or Vaiyāsika-Nyāya-Mālā by Bhāratī Tīrtha, and another called Bhāṣhyārtha-Ratnamālā by Subrahmaṇya Sudhī; and both have been published, the one in the Nāgari and the other in the Telugu character.

⁸² We have been able to collect the following Bhāṣhyas on Bādarāyaṇa's Vedānta-Sūtras, representing the various schools of Vedānta philosophy that came into existence in India since the time of Saṅkara.

I. Brahma-Sūtra-Bhāṣhya of Śrīmad Vijñāna Bhikṣhu called Vijñānamṛita. It represents the unsectarian Viśiṣṭādvaitic School of Vedānta Philosophy. It is published in the Chaukāmbā Sanskrit Series.

boldness, depth, originality and simplicity of Sāṅkara. In fact Sāṅkara's Bhāṣya is not only the most important, but also the oldest of the commentaries extant on the Brahma Sūtras. As a piece of philosophical argumentation,

II. Brahma-Mīmāṃsā-Bhāṣya of Srikantha Sivachārya. It represents the Saiva Viśiṣṭādvaitic School of Vedānta Philosophy. The work has been mostly published at Kumbakonam with Appayya Dīkṣita's commentary thereon called Sivārkamaṇi-Dīpika.

III. Śrī Sariraka-Mīmāṃsā-Brahma-Sūtra-Bhāṣya or more briefly called Śrībhāṣya by Bhagavad Rāmānujāchārya. It represents the Vaiṣṇava Viśiṣṭādvaitic School of Vedānta Philosophy and is available with Śrūta-Prakāśika, a gloss thereon by Sudarśana Bhaṭṭāchārya.

IV. Śrīmad Aṅg-Bhāṣya by Śrī Vallabhāchārya. It represents the Suddhādvaita School of Vedānta Philosophy and is published at Benares with Bhāṣya-Prakāśa, a commentary thereon by Śrī Puruṣottamaji Mahārāja.

V. Brahma-Sūtra-Bhāṣya of Śrī Nimbārka-chārya, called Vedānta-Pārijāta-Saurabha. It represents the Dvaitādvaita School of Vedānta Philosophy and is available with the commentary of Śrinivāsa-chārya and Keṣava Bhaṭṭa's Gloss thereon.

VI. Vedānta-Sūtra-Bhāṣya by Baladeva called Govinda-Bhāṣya. It represents a School of Vedānta Philosophy ranging between Sāṅkara's Advaita and Rāmānuja's Viśiṣṭādvaita. It is being published with an English Translation in the Sacred Books of the Hindus Series.

VII. Śrī Suka-Bhāṣya by Śrī Suka Bhagavatpādāchārya, called also Sarva-Vedānta-Sāra-Mīmāṃsā-Bhāṣya. It represents the School of Vedānta Philosophy as explained in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa and is published in Telugu character with a running commentary called Bhāṣya-Chandrikā.

VIII. Brahma-Sūtra-Bhāṣya of Śrī Bhāskarāchārya. It represents the unsectarian Dvaita School of Vedānta Philosophy and is published in the Chaukāmbā Sanskrit Series.

IX. Brahma-Sūtra-Bhāṣya of Śrīkarāchārya, called Śrīkara-Bhāṣya. It represents the Saiva Dvaita School of Vedānta Philosophy and is available in Telugu character.

it occupies the highest rank among the numerous commentaries on the Vedānta Sūtras.

Gauḍapāda was so much delighted with the activity of Sāṅkara, that he undertook to take him to Kailāsa on the Himālayas where his Guru and Paramaguru were engaged in Tapas and to introduce him and his works to them. Sāṅkara's joy knew no bounds when he saw the sages Bādarāyaṇa and Suka, the Guru and Paramaguru of his Paramāchārya, engaged in Brahmanisthā in one of the peaks of Mount Kailāsa; and he considered himself the most fortunate man in the world, as the Dhanyashṭaka,⁸⁸ which he composed on that occasion, amply testifies to the

X. Brahma-Sūtra-Bhāṣya of Śrī Madhvāchārya, called also Dvaita-Bhāṣya. It represents the Vaiṣṇava Dvaita School of Vedānta Philosophy and is available with the commentaries of Jayatīrtha and Jagannātha Yati.

These are the chief writers of Bhāṣyas or Independent Commentaries on Brahma Sūtras, and these together with Sāṅkara represent the Eleven Schools of Vedānta Philosophy prevailing in India. Madhvāchārya quotes 21 Commentators before his time, but many of them exist only in name, if not solely in the imagination of Pūrṇaprajñāchārya.

⁸⁸ Dhanyashṭaka, as the name itself implies, is a collection of 8 stanzas in praise of the blessed condition of Mahātmas like Bādarāyaṇa and Suka. The first stanza runs as follows :—

“त ज्ञानं प्रशमकरं य दिन्द्रियाणां
तज्ज्ञेयं य दुपनिषत्सु निश्चितार्थम् ।
ते धन्या भुवि परमार्थनिश्चितेहाः
शेषा स्तु भ्रमनिलये परिभ्रमन्ति ॥”

The concluding stanza (St. 9) runs as follows :—

“अहि मिव जनयोगं सर्वदा वर्जयेद्यः
कुणपमिव सुनारीं त्यक्तुकामो विरागी ।

same. Both Bādarāyaṇa and Śuka⁸⁴ were immensely glad to go through the Bhāshyas and Prakaraṇas of Śaṅkara and pronounced his Bhāshya on their Brahma Sūtras as containing the true interpretation of the Upanishads. They offered

विषमिव विषया न्यो मन्यमानो दुरन्तान्
जयति परमहंसो मुक्तिभावं समेति ॥”

⁸⁴ The meeting of Śaṅkara and Bādarāyaṇa, according to both Chitsukha and Ānandagiri, took place near Kailāsa on the Himalayas. Ānandagiri, however does not introduce Śuka at this stage, and according to him Śuka is seen for the first time by Śaṅkara as one of the hosts of mighty sages attending on the Great Teacher, Mahādeva who appeared to Śaṅkara in the form of Dakṣiṇāmurti at the foot of a banian tree (Vata) on one of the white peaks of Kailāsa. Govindānanda and Śaṅkarānanda locate this meeting between Śaṅkara and Bādarāyaṇa at Badarikāśrama itself where Bādarāyaṇa goes of his own accord to pay a visit to Śaṅkara on hearing that he has composed commentaries not only on the Bhagavad Gītā and the Upanishads, but also on his own Brahma Sūtras. The following is the account given in Govindānanda's Keraliya Śaṅkara Vijaya :

“उदीच्यां दिशि तीर्थानि पुण्यानि सकलानि सः ।
सेवमानोऽथ संप्राप्तः पुण्यं बदरिकाश्रमम् ॥

* * *

वेदान्तसूत्रवेष्टान्तर्वर्तमानार्थदुष्टये ।
तदानीं सोऽकरोत् प्राज्ञः श्रीमद्भाष्यप्रदीपिकाम् ॥
सर्वदिग्ब्याप्तभाष्यांशुश्रीशङ्करदिवाकरः ।
तिरश्चक्रे ऽखिलं लोके प्रतिवादितमोगुणम् ॥
निजनिर्मितसूत्राणां श्रुत्वा भाष्यनिबन्धनम् ।
तत्राऽऽजगाम सन्तुष्टो भगवान् बादरायणः ॥
दृष्ट्वाऽन्योन्यं व्यतनुतां सपर्यां मुचिता मुभौ ।
उवाच तदनु व्यासं शङ्करो हृष्टमानसः ॥

their sincere blessings to Śaṅkara and directed him to go and preach his Advaita Darśana at Vārāṇasī (Benares), the

हे मुने स्वागतं तेऽस्तु कृतार्थोऽस्मि तवेक्षणात् ।
येन त्वया त्रयी व्यस्ता ज्ञानकर्मप्रभेदतः ॥

तदीयार्थप्रकाशार्थं ब्रह्मसूत्राणि भो मुने ।
सन्दर्शिताखिलाम्नायमहार्थानि कृतानि च ॥

लोका ननुजिघृक्षु स्त्वं लोके सञ्चरसि ध्रुवम् ।
पूर्णकामाः किं मन्यस्मा दभिवाञ्छन्ति पूरुषाः ॥

तथाऽप्यागमने हैतुं तव पृच्छामि कौतुकात् ।
कांक्षितेनापि केनापि भवान् सांप्रत मागतः ॥

इत्युक्तो यतिवर्येण शङ्करेण महात्मना ।
प्रत्युवाचाऽतिहृष्टात्मा महर्षि बादरायणः ॥

वेदान्तागमसूत्राणां रचितानां महामते ।
त्वया भाष्यं व्यघायीति श्रुत्वाऽऽयातोऽस्मि सांप्रतम् ॥

तद् द्रष्टुं कौतुकेनाऽलं त्वरते मम मानसम् ।
इत्युक्तो दर्शयामास स तस्मै भाष्यपुस्तकम् ॥

अपूर्वं तत् समादाय शङ्करेण विनिर्मितम् ।
यथाव दखिलं वीक्ष्य प्राह तं बादरायणः ॥

विवृताऽखिलसूत्रार्थं निर्दोषं सुगुणान्वितम् ।
हिताय सुतरा मेत ज्जायते ऽद्वैतवादिनाम् ॥

अर्थाऽमृतं मृदारं सत् सूत्रदुग्धपयोनिधौ ।
आविष्कृतं मिदं भाष्यं त्वत्कृतं मन्दरायते ॥

प्रमोदो मम जातोऽलं तस्माद्भाष्यनिबन्धनात् ।
तस्मा दह्य प्रतिष्ठां त्वं कुरु लोके समन्ततः ॥

ancient seat of all Aryan learning, and to establish its supremacy in the world by subjugating all the hostile religions and philosophies which were then crushing all spirit out of the true ideal of the Upanishads.

No sooner had they pronounced their blessings on Saṅkara than the two sages, Bādarāyaṇa and Śuka, miraculously disappeared from the scene; and not even Gauḍapāda was left there to comfort poor Saṅkara in that strange land of the Siddhas. Having fulfilled the mission of their life in this world, the three great teachers had gone up to Kailasa, where Mahādeva, the great Lord of Wisdom, sits enthroned on the Silver Mountain with His Gracious Energy, the World's Mother, the Goddess Umā by his side, leaving the rest of their task into the able hands of Saṅkara. Saṅkara becomes immensely grieved at the sudden departure of his venerable teachers, and all human existence appears to him completely profitless. He considered all sentient beings as mere actors walking in a vain show produced by a magician. In fact, the state of mind of the youthful ascetic at that time

इत्युक्त्वा यतिवर्याय पुस्तकं संप्रदाय तत् ।
सन्तुष्टः सुतरां व्यास स्तिरोधानं गतोऽभवत् ॥”

But according to the authors of the later Saṅkara Vijayas, such as Mādhava, Sadānanda and Chidvilāsa, this meeting of Saṅkara and Bādarāyaṇa is said to have taken place at Benares, after Saṅkara had settled himself there with many of his disciples. Mādhava says that Vyāsa came to Saṅkara's abode at Benares in the disguise of an old man and after entering into a long disputation with him on some of the knotty points in his Vedānta Sūtras was at last forced to yield to the views and interpretations of Saṅkara. The description of this meeting of Saṅkara and Vyāsa as given by these later biographers is most unnatural and unlikely and seems to have been designed to meet the objections raised against his commentary in Mādhava Vijaya and Maṇi-Maṇjari.

was very much like that of Gautama Buddha when he found himself alone under the Bodhi-tree. He yearned to meet with a Guru who would be able to teach him the way of absolute release and free him for ever from all earthly bonds.

As his mind thus became *en rapport* with a spirit of resignation to the Will of the Great Teacher. Maheśvara Himself, Saṅkara beholds a mystic Guru in human form, milk-white, three-eyed, moon-crested, holding in the hands a rosary of pearls, a vessel of nectar, a sacred book and Chinmudrā, the symbol of the blessed wisdom, young and handsome with the Yogic belt, girdled by a mighty serpent, bedecked with garlands of pearls, seated in the posture of an expositor on a stately tabernacle adorned with myriads of fragrant blooming flowers at the foot of a big banian tree (Vāṭa-druma) in the middle of a majestic and solemn grove on one of the snow-white peaks of Mount Kailasa, surrounded by Vāmadeva, Jaimini, Bādarāyaṇa, Śuka, Gauḍapāda and a host of mighty sages, all old and venerable in appearance, seated in the posture of disciples with one and the same kind of book in their hands. Saṅkara, unconscious of the coming crisis, draws near the Great Teacher whose serene face is turned to south (Dakṣiṇā-bhīmukha) towards himself, and is transported with rapture at the sight of his venerable teachers seated in front of the Mighty Guru. It was then that he composed his immortal hymn to the Divine Teacher, well-known under the name of “Dakṣiṇāmūrti-Stotra,” which inculcates the highest devotion to the Divine Being as the Guru of Gurus, and an equal devotion to one's own immediate Guru who should be

⁸⁴ As a terse expression of the fundamental truths of Vedānta Philosophy, Saṅkara's Dakṣiṇāmūrti-Stotra forms a suitable text book upon which the student may meditate and realize the whole doctrine of

regarded as an incarnation of the former. Having composed these immortal verses, Śaṅkara throws himself at the feet of the Gurus. The Gracious Lord and his mighty attendants are immensely pleased with the hymn. Śuka, one of the surrounding host, now intercedes on behalf of his great grand disciple as worthy to be taught the mystery of Spiritual Knowledge, and the Divine Teacher accordingly receives Śaṅkara and bids the attendants prepare at once for his soleman initiation into Adhyātma-Sannyāsa.

Śaṅkara is, accordingly, bathed with water from the sacred Ganges and made ready for reception by a variety of minute purificatory ceremonies. The neophyte is besmeared with sacred ashes and wears the Kaṣhaya, the peculiar habiliment of the Sannyāsin. With one hand grasping the Daṇḍa (sacred staff) and the other the Kamaṇḍalu (water-pot), he renounces once again all desires of worldly splendour and wealth and expresses the determination to

Śaṅkara's Advaita for himself. It properly consists of only ten stanzas and begins with :

“विश्वं दर्पणदृश्यमाननगरीतुल्यं निजान्तर्गतं
पश्य त्नात्मनि मायया बहिरिवोद्भूतं यथा निद्रया ।
यः साक्षात्कुरुते प्रबोधसमये स्वात्मानं मेवाऽद्वयं
तस्मै श्रीगुरुमूर्तये नम इदं श्रीदक्षिणामूर्तये ॥”

But in most of the manuscripts and printed editions of this celebrated poem the following additional stanzas are found after the close of the 10th stanza :—

“वटवटपिसमीपे भूमिभागे निषण्णं
सकल मुनिजनानां ज्ञानदातार मारात् ।
त्रिभुवनगुरु मीशं दक्षिणामूर्तिदेवं
जननमरणदुःखच्छेददक्षं नमामि ॥

follow the will of his Guru. He is then presented before the Mighty Teacher, the serene-faced Primal Being Himself, who, at the time of universal dissolution, absorbs all into

चित्रं वटतरो मूले वृद्धाः शिष्या गुरुं युवा ।
गुरो स्तु मौनं व्याख्यानं शिष्यास्तु च्छिन्नसंशयाः ॥
ओं नमः प्रणवार्थाय शुद्धज्ञानैकमूर्तये ।
निर्मलाय प्रशान्ताय दक्षिणामूर्तये नमः ॥
निधये सर्वविद्यानां भिषजे भवरोगिणाम् ।
गुरवे सर्वलोकानां दक्षिणामूर्तये नमः ॥
मौनव्याख्याप्रकटितपरब्रह्मतत्त्वं युवानं
वर्षिष्ठान्तेवसदृषिगणै रावृतं ब्रह्मनिष्ठैः ।
आचार्येन्द्रं करकलितचिन्मुद्र मानन्दरूपं
स्वात्मारामं मुदितवदनं दक्षिणामूर्ति मीडे ॥”

All these verses are found in Chitsukhāchārya's Bṛihat Śaṅkara Vijaya and apparently these verses are his own productions. We have a celebrated Vārtika or Poetical Commentary on this magnificent Ode by Suresvarāchārya, one of the direct and prominent disciples of Śaṅkara, called Manasollāsa, consisting of 10 Ullāsas or Chapters, each of which is devoted to the exposition of a single stanza of this immortal poem of ten verses. The Mysore Government has brought out a beautiful edition of this poem with Suresvarāchārya's Vārtika of Manasollāsa, and Rāma Tīrtha's gloss thereon called Manasollāsa-Vṛttānta, together with an independent commentary on the original hymn itself by Svayamprakāsa Yatīndra, a disciple of Kaivalyananda Yogīndra, called Tatva-Sudhā. The hymn is termed Dakṣiṇāmūrti-Stōta merely because the name Dakṣiṇāmūrti occurs in the last line of each verse as the burthen of the hymn. Paṇḍit A. Mahādeva Śāstri has published a beautiful English translation of the said hymn and of the Vārtika of Suresvarāchārya thereon under the name of 'Vedānta-Doctrine of Śaṅkarāchārya' which also contains the text and translation of the Dakṣiṇāmūrti-Upanishad, which probably came into existence about Śaṅkara's time.

Himself and who shines and delights in the happiness of His own inherent bliss ; and the neophyte not knowing how to worship adequately the Omniscient Lord composes his famous poem called ⁸⁵ Parā-Pūjā and offers it as his humble present to the Divine Teacher. The Mahāvākyas of the Upanishads are directly taught to him by the Gracious Lord as constituting the knowledge of the Highest Secret, and he solemnly repeats them with all his faculties absorbed in loving devotion to the Spiritual Teacher. With the impartation to him of the mysteries of the Vedānta Philosophy and

⁸⁵ Parā-Pūjā is a short poem in 5 stanzas in which Śaṅkara shows how difficult it is for a person like himself who has realized the true nature of God to worship Him in any of the ordinary forms covered by the Shodāṣopachāras. It is so short and sweet that we quote it in full below :

“पूर्णस्याऽऽवाहनं कुत्र सर्वाधारस्य चाऽऽसनम् ।
स्वच्छस्य पाद्य मर्घ्यं च शुद्धस्याऽऽचमनं कुतः ॥ १ ॥
निर्मलस्य कुतः स्नानं वस्त्रं विश्वोदरस्य च ।
निरालम्बस्योपवीतं पुष्पं निर्वासनस्य च ॥ २ ॥
निलोपस्य कुतो गन्धो रम्यस्याऽऽभरणं कुतः ।
नित्यतृप्तस्य नैवेद्यं ताम्बूलं च कुतो विभोः ॥ ३ ॥
प्रदक्षिणा ह्यनन्तस्य ह्यद्वयस्य कुतो नतिः ।
वेदवाक्यै रवेद्यस्य कुतः स्तोत्रं विधीयते ॥ ४ ॥
स्वयं प्रकाशमानस्य कुतो नीराजनं विभोः ।
अन्तर्बहिश्च पूर्णस्य कथं मुद्रासनं भवेत् ॥ ५ ॥”

Chitsukhachārya, after giving these verses in his Brihat Śaṅkara Vijaya, concludes the poem with the following stanza :—

“एव मेव परा पूजा सर्वाविस्थासु सर्वदा ।
एकबुद्ध्या तु देवेशे विधेया ब्रह्मवित्तमैः ॥”

of the presentation to him of the Sacred Book which the Divine Teacher was holding in his hand the initiation becomes complete.

To his great satisfaction and astonishment, Śaṅkara finds that the book that has been so kindly presented to him by the Divine Teacher is no other than his own Bhāṣhya on the Brahma Sūtras and he cannot sufficiently express his gratitude to the Great Guru for the special favour shown to him. The Guru is so much pleased with Śaṅkara that He graciously reveals Himself before him as the Great Lord Śiva Himself and gladly takes him right up to the Silver Mountain on the Mahakailasa whose innumerable white peaks are adorned with diverse jewels. There, in a magnificent shrine of ruddy gold, the newly initiated ascetic beholds the Divine Teacher, the first and the only God, seated upon a majestic throne surrounded with rich silken hangings and adorned with innumerable sparkling gems, with one sacred face representing the One Absolute Being in the universe, with three graceful eyes indicating the splendour of the three great lights of the world, with the crest of His matted hair crowned with the Ganges, the crescent-moon and the Kadamba-garland revealing his triple nature as Sat, Chit and Ananda, with His ears adorned with ear-rings of conch-shell and flower-petals indicating the harmony and beauty which He preserves in the world, with His throat black with the poison churned out from the milky ocean bearing testimony to the infinite compassion that He has towards His devotees, with His hands grasping an antelope (the sign of self-control) an axe (the sign of power), the Abhayamudrā (the sign of safety) and Varadamudrā (the sign of assurance of gifts of grace) with His body ruddy like coral, besmeared with sacred ashes, showing that His Justice is always tempered with Mercy, with His breast adorned with the white investing

thread (Brahma-sūtra) indicating His mastery over the Saktis (the three Energies of the Soul) and the Guṇas (the three Qualities of Matter), with His neck shining with necklaces consisting of bones and skulls of innumerable Brahmās, Viṣṇus and Rudras whom He produced from time to time for the purpose of creating, protecting and destroying the universe, with His waist resplendent with dagger and girdle expressive of His omnipotence and omniscience, with His lotus-like feet tinkling with the heroic anklets and sounding bells proclaiming that He is the author of all Revelations (Śrutis add Śmṛitis), with the Goddess Umā, His Supreme Energy (Parā-Sakti) always seated on His left side, with the Goddesses of Wealth and Learning waving on either side of Him a white Chāmara (Chowrie) and a flower-twined Vyajana (Fan) representing that He is the Master of all Wealth and Learning, with the heavenly musicians and choristers of every degree singing His praise in sweet harmony with innumerable musical instruments, with His hosts of devotees dancing before His presence with their quivering bodies thrilled in every part with joy, with the holy ascetics reciting the Upanishads with their hands clasped above their heads, and with Indra and other gods standing far off, with hands upon their mouths, humbly making known their wants to Him, as they are kept back by the wand of the sacred Nandikeśwara. As Śaṅkara eagerly beholds the Mighty Lord, Sadāśiva, who is from eternity free from all impurity, the Everlasting, the All-pervader, possessed of all wisdom and pre-eminence and all spontaneous grace, who, through His infinite compassion towards souls, for which they can render Him no return, ever performs without performance, the acts of Śṛiṣṭi (Creation), Sthiti (Protection), Samhāra (Destruction), Tirodhāna (Veiling) and Anugraha (Dispensing grace) once from foot to head and again from top to toe,

his frame is dissolved in ecstasy like wax in fire. Rapture fills him as the torrent from the open sluice, and as he is plunged into the very gulf of delight, the two great hymns in praise of Śiva, known as ⁸⁶ Śiva-Pādādi-Kesānta-Varāṇa-Stotra and ⁸⁷ Śiva-Kesādi-Pādānta Varāṇa-Stotra flow forth

⁸⁶ Śiva-Pādādi-Kesānta-Varāṇa-Stotra is one of the most beautiful poems in praise of Śiva as He appeared to Śaṅkara in Mahākailāsa and consists of 40 stanzas in Sragdhara metre. The first stanza runs as follows :—

“कल्याणं नो विधत्तां कटकटलसत्कल्पवाटो निकुञ्ज-
क्रीडासंसक्तविद्याधरनिकरवधूगीतरुद्रावदानः ।

तारैर्हर्म्बनादैर्स्तरलितनिनदतारकारातिकेकी
कैलासः शर्वनिवृत्यभिजनकपदं सर्वदा पर्वतेन्द्रः ॥ १ ॥”

Chitsukhāchārya, in his Bṛihat Śaṅkara Vijaya, says that this poem was composed by Śaṅkara on the occasion of his famous visit to Mahākailāsa as he took a full glance of the Lord Śiva from foot to head, and he concludes this poem with the following stanza :

“व्याय न्नित्यं प्रभाते प्रतिदिवस मिदं स्तोत्ररत्नं पठे ह्यः
किं वा ब्रूम स्तदीयं सुचरित मथवा कीर्तयामः समासात् ।
संपज्जातं समग्रं सदसि बहुमतिं सर्वलोकप्रियत्वं
संप्राप्याऽऽयुःशतान्ते पद मयति परब्रह्मणो मन्मथारेः ॥”

This poem is published in Part VI of the Kāvya-Māla Series.

⁸⁷ Śiva-Kesādi-Pādānta-Varāṇa-Stotra is a similar grand poem in praise of Śiva by Śaṅkara and consists of 28 stanzas also composed in Sragdhara, which appears to be Śaṅkara's favourite metre. The first stanza runs as follows :—

“देयासु मूर्ध्नि राजत्सरससुरसरित्पारपर्यन्तनिर्घ
त्प्रांशुस्तम्बाः पिशङ्गास्तुलितपरिणतारवतशालीलता नः ।
दुर्वारापत्तिगर्तश्रितनिखिलजनोत्तारणे रज्जुभूता
घोराघोर्वीरहालीदहनशिखिशिखाः शर्म शार्वाः कपर्दाः ॥”

from his sacred lips, which in their beauty of description of what he saw in Mahākailāsa stands unrivalled to this day.

From this moment Śaṅkara is entirely transformed into a new man; he has become a Jīvan-Mukta—one in feeling, soul and power with the Infinite and Eternal Lord, though living in a mortal body still, for a while, solely with a view to save the world. In fact Śaṅkara has realized the Supreme Soul and has become one with the Divine Teacher, as the ⁸⁸ Ātma-Bhujāṅga and ⁸⁹ Svānubhava-Prakaraṇa which he

Chitsukha says that this poem was also composed by Śaṅkara on the same occasion as he beheld Śiva in Mahākailāsa from top to toe, and he concludes the poem with the following prayer:

“भूम्ना यस्यास्तभूम्ना भुवन मनुसृतं यत् परं धाम धाम्नां
साम्ना साम्नायतत्वं यदपि च परमं यद्गुणातीतमाद्यम् ।
यच्चाहोहं स्त्रिरीहं गहनमिति मुहुः प्राहु रूच्यं मंहान्तो
माहेशं तन्महो मे महितमहरहर्मोहरोहं निहन्तु ॥”

This poem is also published in Part VI of the Kāvya-Māla Series.

⁸⁸ Ātma-Bhujāṅga, also known as Ātma-Shatka is a small poem in six stanzas in the metre called Bhujāṅgaprayāta, on the realization of one's own Soul as the Supreme Being of the Universe. It begins with:—

“मनोबुद्धयहङ्कारचित्तानि नाहं
न च श्रोत्रजिह्वे न च घ्राणनेत्रे ।
न च व्योमभूमी न तेजो न वायु
श्चिदानन्दरूपः शिवोऽहं शिवोऽहम् ॥”

The last stanza in which he affirms in positive terms the real nature of the Soul runs as follows:—

“अहं निर्विकल्पो निराकाररूपो
विभुर्व्याप्य सर्वत्र सर्वेन्द्रियाणि ।
सदा मे समत्वं न मुक्तिर्न बन्ध
श्चिदानन्दरूपः शिवोऽहं शिवोऽहम् ॥”

composed at this time show clearly. The Divine Teacher, Mahēśvara, becomes extremely pleased with him, blesses him with long life and sound health, orders him to go forth as a Paramahansa Parivrājakāchārya and proclaim his Advaita Darśana at Benares and other places, and assures him that his Absolute Philosophy will be established and respected throughout the whole world. Being thus blessed by Lord Śiva, the new spiritual teacher goes back to the hermitage of Bādarāyana at the foot of the Kailāsa Mountain near the source of the Ganges, wherefrom had disappeared his three great teachers a short while ago.

⁸⁹ Svānubhava-Prakaraṇa or more briefly called Svānubhūti is a small poem in 36 stanzas of Anuṣṭubh metre on the realization of Brahman in one's own self-realization. It begins with:—

“अहमेव परं ब्रह्म ह्यहमेव परं सुखम् ।
अहमेवाहमहमेवास्मि केवलम् ॥ १ ॥
अहं चैतन्यमेवास्मि दिव्यज्ञानात्मकोऽस्म्यम् ।
सर्वाक्षरविहीनोऽस्मि ह्यहं ब्रह्मास्मि केवलम् ॥ २ ॥
अहमर्थविमुक्तोऽस्मि, इदमर्थविवर्जितः ।
सर्वानर्थविमुक्तोऽस्मि ह्यहं ब्रह्मास्मि केवलम् ॥ ३ ॥
अहमस्मि परश्चास्मि सर्वलोकोऽस्मि सोऽस्म्यहम् ।
सर्वलोकगुरुश्चास्मि ह्यहं ब्रह्मास्मि केवलम् ॥ ४ ॥”

The poem is concluded with the following stanzas:—

“ब्रह्मादिभेदहीनोऽस्मि केशवत्वादिसर्ववित् ।
शङ्करादिविहीनोऽस्मि ह्यहं ब्रह्मास्मि केवलम् ॥ ३५ ॥
इदं स्वानुभवं प्रोक्तं सर्वोपनिषदां वरम् ।
यो वा को वा शृणोतीदं ब्रह्मैव भवति स्वयम् ॥ ३६ ॥”

The whole of this Prakaraṇa is found in Brihat Śaṅkara Vijaya, and the last stanza is probably the composition of Chitsukha himself containing his reflection on the effect of the poem on its hearers.

There he finds his old companion and co-student, Vishṇu Sarman, plunged in deep sorrow on account of the sudden disappearance of himself and his great teachers, for whom he had searched throughout that sacred hermitage. On being questioned by his trusted friend, Śaṅkara narrates to him how he suddenly missed his great teachers—Bādarāyaṇa, Śuka and Gauḍapāda, how in his despair he found out the Divine Guru in the form of Dakṣiṇāmūrti under the foot of a banian tree, how he had been received by the Spiritual Teacher and initiated into the Adhyātma-Sannyāsa (Spiritual Asceticism), how he had been taught by the Gracious Lord the mysteries of the Vedānta Philosophy, how Śiva, the Lord of Wisdom revealed Himself to him in Mahā kailāsa, and what all wonders he witnessed in that sacred paradise. At the earnest request of Vishṇu Sarman, Śaṅkara composes his⁹⁰ Adhyātmavidyā-Sannyāsavidhi and

⁹⁰ Adhyātmavidyā-Sannyāsavidhi is a small Prakaraṇa or treatise in 44 stanzas explaining the nature of Adhyātma-Sannyāsa or Spiritual Asceticism and what according to it is meant by Snāna (Bathing), Saucha (Purity), Sandhyā (Prayer), Bhikṣhā (Food), Ekānta (Solitude) and Chāturmāsya-Saṅkalpa (Four months' vow), which are the six chief duties prescribed to an ordinary Sannyāsin. It begins with:—

“वहिरन्तः स्थितं देव मात्मानं परमेश्वरम् ।
दृश्यादृश्याधिकं विश्वं गुरु मेकं नमाम्यहम् ॥ १ ॥
यतीनां मूतमाचारो मोक्षासाधनरूपकः ।
अध्यात्मविद्यासंन्यासविधिर्ज्योतिषो ध्रुवम् ॥ २ ॥
स्नानं शौचं तथा भिक्षा नित्य मेकान्तसेवनम् ।
भिक्षोश्चत्वारि कर्माणि पञ्चमं नोपलभ्यते ॥ ३ ॥
स्नानं मनोमलत्यागः शौचं मिन्द्रियनिग्रहः ।
ब्रह्ममृतं पिबे द्विक्षा मेकान्तं द्वैतवर्जितम् ॥ ४ ॥”

*¹ Vedānta-Diṇḍima, thereby explaining to him what it was that constituted Ādhyātma-Sannyāsa into which he was initiated by the Divine Teacher and what the essence and substance of the teaching of the Vedānta was as imparted to him by the Guru of Gurus.

The poem ends as follows:—

“मयि सर्वं मिदं जातं मयि सर्वं प्रतिष्ठितम् ।
मयि सर्वं लयं याति तद्ब्रह्माऽद्वयमस्म्यहम् ॥ ४४ ॥

इति श्रीमत्परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यश्रीमच्छङ्कराचार्यविरचितः सर्व-
वेदवेदान्तोपनिषत्पुराणेतिहाससारसंग्रहाध्यात्मविद्यासंन्यासविधिः
संपूर्णः ।”

The work is still unpublished, although it is available in manuscripts in many of the libraries of India and is fully given in Chitsukhāchārya's Bṛihat Śaṅkara Vijaya.

*¹ Vedānta-Diṇḍima, also sometimes called Ātmānātma-Viveka-Diṇḍima, is a poem in 67 stanzas of Anuṣṭubh metre containing the general principles of the Advaita-Vedānta, as taught to Śaṅkara by the Divine Guru. Each stanza ends with the word 'Vedāntaḍiṇḍimā' and hence the work itself has come to be called Vedānta-Diṇḍima. The introductory stanza invokes the presence of the Mighty Teacher, Śrī Dakṣiṇāmūrti, as the whole of what he is going to say in the poem embodies the substance of the teachings of the Divine Guru. It runs as follows:—

“वेदान्तडिण्डिमा स्तत्त्व मेकं मुद्बोधयन्ति यत् ।
आस्तां पुरस्तात् तेजो दक्षिणामूर्तिशब्दितम् ॥ १ ॥

The poem proper begins with the following stanzas:

“आत्मानात्मपदार्थौ द्वौ भोक्तृभोग्यत्वलक्षणौ ।
ब्रह्मैवाऽऽत्मा न देहादिरिति वेदान्तडिण्डिमः ॥ २ ॥
ज्ञानाज्ञानपदान्धौ द्वा वात्मनो बन्धमुक्तिदौ ।
ज्ञाना न्मुक्तिर्निबन्धोऽन्यदिति वेदान्ताडिण्डिमः ॥ ३ ॥”

On hearing this marvellous account, Vishṇu-Sarman's admiration for Śaṅkara increases a thousandfold and he forthwith prays to Śaṅkara in eight verses known as ⁹⁹ Guruvashṭaka and entreats Śaṅkara to take him as his

This instructive treatise is concluded with the following stanzas :—

“अभेददर्शनं मोक्षः संसारो भेददर्शनम् ।
सर्ववेदान्तसिद्धान्त इति वेदान्तडिण्डिमः ॥ ६४ ॥
न काम्यप्रतिषिद्धाभिः क्रीडाभिर्मोक्षसाधनम् ।
ईश्वरानुग्रहात्तस्मादिति वेदान्तडिण्डिमः ॥ ६५ ॥
अविज्ञाते जन्म नष्टं विज्ञाते जन्म सार्थकम् ।
ज्ञातुं रात्मा न दूरे स्यादिति वेदान्तडिण्डिमः ॥ ६६ ॥
दशमत्वपरिज्ञाने नाऽऽयासोऽस्ति यथा तथा ।
स्वस्य ब्रह्मात्मविज्ञानमिति वेदान्तडिण्डिमः ॥ ६७ ॥

It is a pity that this Prakaraṇa is also still unpublished, though it is completely available in manuscripts.

⁹⁹ Guruvashṭaka or Guru-Stuti as it is called in Bṛihat Sankara Vijaya, is a collection of eight beautiful verses in praise of Śaṅkara composed by Vishṇu Sarman, just before he was initiated into Sannyāsa under the sacred appellation of Chitsukha, expressing his sincere admiration for, and supreme devotion to his co-student and Guru, the embodiment of the Spiritual Teacher by whom he was just then initiated into Spiritual Asceticism. The first stanza runs as follows :—

“श्रुतीनामाक्रीडः प्रथितपरहंसोचितगति
निजे सत्ये धाम्नि त्रिजगदतिवर्ति न्यभिरतः ।
असौ ब्रह्म वाऽस्मिन् न खलु विशये किन्तु कलये
बृहे रथं साक्षादनुपचरितं केवलतया ॥ १ ॥”

The last stanza is given as follows :—

“दृष्टिं यः प्रगुणीकरोति तमसा बाह्येन मन्दीकृतां
नालीकप्रियतां प्रयाति भजते मित्रत्वमव्याहृतम् ।

disciple and to initiate him as a Sannyāsin. Śaṅkara, who already knows his Bhakti and Vairāgya, gladly accepts him as his pupil, makes him go through the formalities and invests him with the red-robe of the Sannyāsin under the significant name of Chitsukha. The initiation becomes complete with the impartation to him of the real secret and significance of the Mahāvākyas of the Upanishads by composing his ⁹⁹ Mahāvākya-Vivaraṇa on the lines taught to

विश्वस्योपकृते विलुम्पति सुहृच्चक्रस्य चाति घनां
हंसः सोऽयमभिव्यनक्ति महतां जिज्ञास्यमर्थं मुहुः ॥ ८ ॥”

Chitsukha concludes the poem with the following stanzas :

“इत्थं संप्राथितः सर्वज्ञानं मां शङ्करोऽञ्जसा ।
विरक्तं चक्षुषा दिव्येनाऽपश्यत् सर्ववस्तुषु ॥
ततः संन्यासविधिना यतिनं मां चकार सः ।
दत्त्वा श्रीचित्सुखाऽभिख्यां मह्यं देशिकपुङ्गवः ॥
उपादिशच्च वेदान्तं मह्यं वेदान्तडिण्डिमम् ।
अध्यात्मसंन्यासविधिं महावाक्यार्थं मदभुतम् ॥”

These very stanzas which constitute the Guru-Stuti are found *verbatim* in the 5th Sarga of Mādhava's Śaṅkara-Vijaya, but without any appropriateness to the subject on hand.

⁹⁹ Mahāvākya-Vivaraṇa or better known as Mahāvākya-rtha-Pañchī-karaṇa, is a small treatise in prose explaining analytically the meaning of the five great passages or Mahāvākyas of the Upanishads upon which the Advaita Vedānta is based. They are :

- I. “तत् त्वमसि” of the Sāma Veda,
- II. “अयमात्मा ब्रह्म” of the Adharva Veda,
- III. “प्रज्ञानं ब्रह्म” of the Sukla Yajur Veda,
- IV. “अहं ब्रह्माऽस्मि” of the Kṛishṇa Yajur Veda and
- V. “प्रज्ञानमानन्दं ब्रह्म” of the Rig Veda.

him by the Divine Teacher. Both the teacher and the pupil are anxious to go to Benares as directed by the Divine Teacher, but Śaṅkara, who always regarded his Guru as an embodiment of the Spiritual Teacher Himself, first wants to go and pay a visit to Govinda Bhagavatpāda at Badarikāśrama and take his formal permission in the matter. Accordingly both go back to Badarikāśrama and pay their respects to him and Govinda Bhagavatpāda is extremely delighted to

It is accordingly divided into five Sections and begins with :

“अथातो महावाक्यप्रबोधप्रकारं व्याख्यास्यामः । तत् त्वमसि, अयमात्मा ब्रह्म, प्रज्ञानं ब्रह्म, अहं ब्रह्मा ऽस्मि, प्रज्ञानमानन्दं ब्रह्म, इत्यौपनिषदानि पञ्च महावाक्यानि । तत्राऽऽदौ सामवेदे तत्त्वमसीति महावाक्यस्य व्याख्यानं क्रियते । अत्र तावत् “तत्त्वमसि” इति महावाक्ये त्रीणि पदानि भवन्ति—तत् त्वम्, असि—इति । तत्पदस्य द्वावन्धौ, वाच्यो लक्ष्य इचेति । माया-शबलितं ब्रह्म वाच्यार्थः, मायानिर्मुक्तं सत्यज्ञानानन्दरूपं लक्ष्यम् ।”
etc.

The work is concluded with the following quotations :

“ब्रह्मैवाहं न संसारी न चाहं ब्रह्मणः पृथक् ।
नाहं देही न संसारी केवलोऽहं सनातनः ॥”

“एकमेवाद्वितीयं ब्रह्म, नेह नानाऽस्ति किञ्चन ।” इति श्रुतेः ।

The colophon at the end runs as follows :—“इति श्रीगोविन्दभवगतपदपूज्यशिष्य श्रीमच्छङ्कराचार्यविरचितं महावाक्यार्थपञ्चीकरणं समाप्तम् ॥”

This work should not be confounded either with the Śaṅkarāśrama's Mahāvākya-rtha-Vivarāṇa published in 15 Siddhāntas or with Vidyāraṇya's Mahāvākya-Vivarāṇa, in explanation of the 12 Mahāvākya's or important passages of authority in the Vedas and the Upanishads. So far as we know the genuine work of Śaṅkara is still unpublished.

hear of the marvellous adventures of his disciple at Kailasa and Mahākailāsa, persuades him to go at once to Benares to proclaim his Advaita Philosophy to the world and blesses him with a happy journey.

Accordingly Śaṅkara prepares himself to go to Benares with his old friend and newly initiated disciple Chitsukha, when to his surprise and disappointment, Agni Śarman a relation of Śaṅkara, turns up with bags of gold and bundles of precious gems from his aged mother Āryāmbā at Kālaṭi, and after presenting them to Śaṅkara, informs him that his beloved mother is seriously ill. The news of the declining state of his mother's health upsets all his programme, and though he has resigned all the worlds, Śaṅkara's devotion to his mother makes him long to see his mother at once. He dedicates all the gold and precious gems which were so kindly presented to him by his mother to Lord Nārāyaṇa in re-constructing and repairing the ancient temple of Viṣṇu at Badarikāśrama and in setting up “the sacred image of Nārāyaṇa which he got from the river Alakanandā, in the said temple according to Vedic rites. As soon as the Pratishṭhā is over, Śaṅkara places Agni Śarman in charge of the said temple, which has ever since become a famous place of pilgrimage in the North under the name of ⁹⁶ Badrināth, and goes to Kālaṭi accompanied by

⁹⁴ It is stated by Chitsukha that the sacred image of Lord Nārāyaṇa which Śaṅkara set up in the shrine of Badarinātha newly constructed by him was brought up by him (Śaṅkara) from the bottom of the river Alakanandā after diving ten times.

⁹⁵ The celebrated temple of Badarinātha (Badrināth) stands on a peak of the main Himālayan range in Garhwal District, United Provinces, at a height of 23,210 feet above the sea. This shrine is held in greatest reverence by all classes of Hindus. The God is daily provided with food (Naivedya) in gold and silver vessels said to have been

Chitsukha, his trusted companion and disciple. It is stated that Saṅkara, before he left Badarikāśrama to see his aged mother,⁹⁶ produced a hot-water tank (Ushṇodakasaras), just below the shrine close to the hermitage of his revered Gurus to enable his old master to bathe in water every day in that extremely cold region in his last days of existence.

Anxious to see his aged mother, Saṅkara hastens through hills and forests and at last arrives at Kālaṭi, his place of birth. His mother, though extremely weak, was still able to walk about in the house and was extremely glad

endowed to the temple by Saṅkara himself. The chief priest of the temple, now known there as Rawal is always a Malayālam Brāhman who claims his descent from Agni Sarman, a relation of Saṅkara above referred to.

⁹⁶ Below the shrine of Badrināth, a sacred tank still stands on the hillside under the name of Saṅkara-Pushkaraṇi supplied by a thermal spring by means of a spout in the shape of a dragon's head. Pilgrims of both sexes, sometimes as many as 50,000 persons, visit this temple annually and bathe in the sacred pool.

Referring to this tank at Badarikāśrama, Ānandagiri, in his *Prāchīna-Saṅkara-Vijaya*, says as follows:—

तत्रास्ति शीतादितदेशिकस्य संरक्षणायास्तुलितप्रभावः ।

तप्तोदकं प्रार्थयते स्म चन्द्रकलाधारा तीर्थकरप्रधानः ॥

कर्मन्दिबृन्दपतिना गिरिशोर्जितः सन्

सन्तप्तवारिलहरीं स्वपदारविन्दात् ।

प्रावर्तयत् प्रथयती यतिनाथकीर्ति

याज्यापि तत्र समुदञ्चति तप्ततोया ॥”

But Mādhava misapplies these verses and says that the tank in question was created by Saṅkara at Kedāra to enable his disciples to bathe in water in that cold region. His account is not only clearly opposed to actual facts, but also contradictory to the account given by both Chitsukha and Ānandagiri.

to see her only son in her last days. Setting at naught all the rules appertaining to⁹⁷ worldly Sannyāsa, Saṅkara rushes to his mother, touches her feet in reverence and embraces her with all filial affection and devotion. It is said that at the solicitation of Saṅkara, the river Chūrṇī itself had changed its course and ran close to his house at Kālaṭi, so that his aged and declining mother might not be put to the trouble of walking a long distance in order to get herself bathed in the river and so much so that the river itself subsequently came to be called Ambā-Nadī after his mother. One day, being very ill, A'ryāmbā desired her son whose fame had already reached her ears, to discourse to her on things that would bring her eternal peace and happiness. Saṅkara, thereupon, preached to her the essence of his grand Philosophy of the Absolute as expressed in his *Tatva-Bodha*,⁹⁸ in as simple a manner as he put it, but even that was too

⁹⁷ Spiritual Asceticism into which Saṅkara was initiated knows no such restriction. On the other hand, the *Skānda Purāṇa* makes it imperative even on an ordinary Sannyāsin that he should specially respect the memory of his mother. It lays down:

“संन्यस्ताऽखिलकर्माऽपि पितुर्वन्द्योऽहि मस्करी ।

सर्ववन्द्येन यतिना प्रसू र्वन्द्या प्रयत्नतः ॥”

⁹⁸ *Tatva-Bodha* is a short treatise in simple prose giving a brief summary of the *Advaita-Vedānta* and begins with:—

“साधनचतुष्टयसंपन्नाधिकारिणां मोक्षसाधनभूतं तत्त्व-
विवेकप्रकारं वक्ष्यामः । साधनचतुष्टयं किम्? नित्याऽनित्यवस्तु
विवेकः, इहामुत्रार्थफलभोगविरागः, शमदमादिषट्कसंपत्तिः,
मुमुक्षुत्वं चेति ।”

The treatise is concluded with the following remarks:

“तथा च, आत्मवित् संसारं तीर्त्वा ब्रह्मानन्द मिहैव प्राप्नोति,
“तरति शोक मात्मवित्” इति श्रुतेः ।

much for her to grasp in her precarious and semi-conscious state. She desires her son to sing a hymn in praise of Kṛishṇa, the favourite Deity of the place and he accordingly composes and recites his famous hymns called ⁹⁹ Kṛishṇāshṭaka; and she is extremely delighted to hear it recited by her son, feels perfectly happy and free from all

“तनुं त्यजतु वा काश्यां स्वपचस्य गृहेऽथवा ।

ज्ञानसंप्राप्तिसमये मुक्तोऽसौ विगताशयः ॥” इति स्मृतेश्च ॥

From a stanza found in some of the editions added at the beginning of the work, it is ascribed by some to one Vāsudevandra referred to in the said stanza. The work has been printed at Bombay with a Hindī Tikā called Bhāshā-Vivarāṇa, and the learned editor in his preface (भूमिका) says as follows regarding the author of the work :

“श्रीमद्वेदान्तचार्यपरमपूज्यपादश्रीशङ्कराचार्यप्रणीतं तत्त्व-
बोधनामकं मेतत् प्रकरणम् । एतच्च धर्मार्थकाममोक्षरूपचतुर्विध-
पुरुषार्थान्तर्गतमोक्षसाधकवेदान्तशास्त्रं मारुहक्षोः पुरुषस्य प्रथ-
माध्विरोहिणीति सर्वजनावगतम् ।”

⁹⁹ Kṛishṇāshṭaka, as the name itself implies, is a short poem in 8 stanzas in praise of Śrī Kṛishṇa, and begins as follows :—

“श्रिया श्लिष्टो विष्णुः स्थिरचरपुरुर्वेदविषयो

धिया साक्षो बुद्धो हरि रसुरहन्ताञ्जनयनः ।

गदी शङ्खो चक्री विमलघनमाली स्थिररुचिः

शरण्यो लोकेश स्तव भवतु कृष्णोऽक्षिविषयः ॥”

Chitsukha concludes this poem with the following stanza :

“इति हरि रखिलात्मा ऽऽराधितः शङ्करेण

श्रुति विशदगुणोऽसौ मातृमाक्षोर्यं माद्यः ।

यतिवरनिकटे श्रीयुक्त आविर्बभूव

स्वगुणवृत् उदारः शङ्खचक्राब्जहस्तः ॥”

miseries, blesses Śaṅkara in his grand undertaking, gives up her body like a Yogin and goes away by Archirādi-Marga to the Abode of the Highest God, from which there is no return.

In the Stotra-Pāṭha-Pustakas, the last line of each of the stanzas is changed as follows: “शरण्यो लोकेशो मम भवतु कृष्णोऽक्षिविषयः ॥” to suit the circumstance of the reader himself.

It is stated in Mādhava's work, and also referred to in some of the later Śaṅkara-Vijayas that Śaṅkara in order to secure salvation to his dying mother composed a hymn called Śiva-Bhujāṅga-Stotra in praise of Śiva, whereupon His messenger (Śiva-Dūtas) appeared to her in terrific shapes which were too much for her and she refused to go along with them to the world of Śiva. Śaṅkara is then described as having praised Viṣṇu by composing a hymn called Viṣṇu-Bhujāṅga-Stotra, and his mother was then taken to Vaikuṇṭha by the messengers of Viṣṇu, who were bright-looking and agreeable to her. The whole story appears to us to be silly and most inappropriate to the occasion. Apart from its style which is quite modern and the tenor of its substance which is clearly opposed to Śaṅkara's recognized view, there is nothing in the poem itself to suggest that it could have been composed by Śaṅkara for the spiritual benefit of his mother. The clear reference to Sundaramūrti Nāyanār, Śirutoṇḍa Nāyanār and other Dravidian Saints in one of its stanzas beginning with: “न शक्नोमि कर्तुं परद्रोहलेशं,” etc., conclusively shows that it must be the composition of a much later writer than these Tamil Saints, and it is possible that Abhinava Śaṅkara, who was clearly inclined to Saivism, was the author of it. With regard to Viṣṇu-Bhujāṅga-Stotra, we have not come across any such poem ascribed to any Śaṅkara, and although the commentator of Mādhava's Śaṅkara-Vijaya quotes in full the 14 stanzas beginning with: “अनाद्यन्तं माद्यं परं तत्त्वमर्थं” as constituting the Śiva-Bhujāṅga-Stotra, there is not even an attempt by him to suggest what constitutes the Viṣṇu-Bhujāṅga-Stotra, and it is quite probable that it is merely mentioned in name to preserve correspondence to the other poem.

Now the mother being dead, Śaṅkara, in fulfilment of his solemn promise made to her at the time of his renunciation, performs all the rites appertaining to her funeral ceremony, by preparing a funeral pyre at the back-yard of his own house in accordance with the ancient and immemorial custom of the Keralīya Brahmans and by placing the body of his mother on it and setting fire to it himself. The ¹⁰⁰ Māṭṛi-Stuti which he then composed bears ample testimony to the supreme devotion he had for his aged and beloved mother. Nothing can be more naturally expected of Śaṅkara who had a deep sense of filial affection than that he should have thus honoured the sacred memory of his mother by performing her funeral rites himself. But the opponents of Śaṅkara's school of Vedānta Philosophy, who must have been evidently despised and ridiculed by some of the successors of Śaṅkara who were their contemporaries, have made great capital out of the fact of a Sannyāsin performing the funeral rites of his mother, by questioning the very parentage of Śaṅkara, by inventing the story that he was the issue of an adulterous intercourse of a Brāhman widow with a Chāṇḍāla, that he was from the beginning

¹⁰⁰ Māṭṛi-Stuti or Māṭṛi-Pañcharatna, as Chitsukha calls it, is a short poem in 5 stanzas composed by Śaṅkara at the time of setting fire to the dead body of his mother, expressive of his supreme devotion to her and begins with the following stanza :—

“ आस्तां ताव दिवं प्रसृतिसमये दुर्वारशूलव्यथा,
नैरुच्ये तनुशोषणं, मलमयी शय्या च सांवत्सरी ।
एकस्याऽपि न गर्भभारभरणक्लेशस्य यस्याः क्षमो
दातुं निष्कृति मुञ्चतोऽपि तनय स्तयै जनन्यै नमः ॥ ”

The poem is fully given in Chitsukha's Brihat Śaṅkara Vijaya and stands unrivalled to this day in expressing one's own affection towards his mother.

discarded and out-casted by his relations, that he was an incarnation of a demon called Maṇiman, that he was hunted by his own relations like a heretic and sinner when he attempted to set fire to his adulterous mother, and that he, in order to revenge himself on his heartless relatives, secured the assistance of the local chief and introduced all the Anācharas (bad practices) now prevailing in Malabar. The later Śaṅkara Vijayas which came into existence after the confusion between A'di Śaṅkara and Abhinava Śaṅkara had arisen, and which were evidently prepared to meet the objections raised in Madhva-Vijaya, Maṇi-Mañjari and such other works, make all sorts of apologies and justifications for the so-called conduct of Śaṅkara, thereby ¹⁰¹ making the confusion worse confounded. Nothing could be more monstrous and absurd than this, and yet it shows how much

¹⁰¹ In Chitsukhāchārya's Brihat Śaṅkara Vijaya and Ānandagiri's Prāchīna Śaṅkara Vijaya, two of the oldest of the biographies of Śaṅkara, there is absolutely no reference to any objection to Śaṅkara's performing the funeral rites of his mother on the part of any of his countrymen or relations either on the score of his being the son of an adulterous Brāhman widow or on the score of his being a Sannyāsin. We find no mention there of his having cursed his relatives or of his having persuaded the local ruler to issue an edict prohibiting those relations from chanting the Vedas and compelling them to burn the dead body of their own house-compounds.

Not content with making Śaṅkara responsible for all the Anācharas now prevailing among the Malabar Brāhmans, some of these spurious accounts like Keralotpatti (Vide pages 28 and 29 of the Mālayālam edition) ascribe to Śaṅkara, the Widow's son, the task of having subdivided the four ancient castes into 72 distinct sects, and of having assigned to them as many distinct dialects, among which are included 'Paringi' (French) and 'Ingris' (English).

Now, as is rightly pointed out by Mr. C. N. Kṛishṇasami Iyer, in his Life and Times of Śrī Śaṅkarāchārya, 'it has been a settled maxim with the Aryan Hindus to regard the unchaste mother, the

hatred and prejudice on the one hand, and fanaticism and bigotry on the other, could do in the matter.

In the meantime a young Brahman by name Sanandana arrives at Kālaṭi and informs Śaṅkara that his revered Guru Śrī Govinda Bhagavatpāda whom he had left at Badarikāśrama has returned to his hermitage at Amarakanta¹⁰² (Amreshwar) on the bank of the Narmadā owing to serious illness and that he is very anxious to see him before he quits his body in the world. After enquiring of the young man and of his object in going to him, Śaṅkara accepts Sanandana¹⁰³ as his disciple and starts at once to Amareśvara with his two disciples—Chitsukha and Sanandana, and

indebted father, and the idiotic son as among the worst enemies of a man and Śaṅkara would hardly have cared to suffer all the troubles and annoyance that he did on his mother's account, if she had not deserved that amount of sacrifice and final love on his part, even when such sacrifice was unnecessary according to the strict letter of the law.

The fact that the chief priest of the Shrine of Badarināth built by Śaṅkara more than 2400 years ago has always been a Malayāli Brāhman gives a direct lie to the story that Śaṅkara was looked upon by his countrymen and relatives as a heretic. Further the practice of burning the dead among the Malayāli Brahmans in a corner of their own house-compound is not looked down upon as an Anāchāra by the Nambūdris, but on the other hand they regard the custom as a most ancient and immemorial one, and as sanctioned by the Smṛitis.

¹⁰² Amarakanta or Amareśvara (the modern Amreshwar) is a sacred place of pilgrimage on the southern bank of the Narmadā about 7 miles from the Mortakka Station on the Rājputana-Mālwa Railway. The temple of Amareśvara is said to have been built in the time of Mahābhārata and is much resorted to by pilgrims.

¹⁰³ According to Chitsukha, Anandagiri and other ancient biographers of Śaṅkara, Sanandana is described as the son of Mādhava and Lakshmi, a pious Brāhman pair belonging to a wealthy and learned

manages to arrive in the course of a month at his Guru's hermitage.

There in the island of Māndhātā formed on the Vaidūryamaṇi-Parvata in the middle of the Narmadā, Śaṅkara

family at Ahobala, famous for its temple of Śrī Lakshmi-Narasihma. He is said to have been born by the grace of that God and turns out to be an extremely intelligent child. But his parents die while he is very young and he is brought up and educated by his maternal uncle Divakarādhvarin, a disciple of Prabhākaraśāharya, the great advocate of the Atheistic School of Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā. He soon becomes proficient in all the Laukika and Vaidika literatures of his day and is married against his wish to the daughter of his maternal uncle. The young man cannot agree with his uncle in his views of Philosophy and finds his life with his newly married wife most unhappy. He soon quarrels with his uncle, abandons his home and wealth, and goes about in search of Guru who will be able to teach him Adhyātma-vidyā. While he was at Prayāga on one day dissatisfied with the teachings of Prabhākaraśāharya himself, the God Narasihma appears to him in a dream and directs him to seek Śaṅkara as his Guru. He accordingly goes to Badarikāśrama in search of Śaṅkara, but to his disappointment he finds his Guru, Govinda Bhagavatpāda, just starting with his disciples to go to his hermitage on the bank of the Narmadā and learns that Śaṅkara had already gone to Kālaṭi to attend on his dying mother. He is then informed that Govinda Bhagavatpāda is very ill and follows him as far as Amareśvara, where he takes his leave and comes all alone to Kālaṭi in search of the Guru ordained to him by the Lord. Śaṅkara is very much pleased with the account of the young man, accepts him as one of his chief disciples and promises to teach him his Bhāshya on the Vedānta Philosophy and initiates him as a Sannyāsin after he goes back to his Guru whom he is very anxious to see alive.

The authors of Keraliya Śaṅkara Vijaya and Śaṅkara Vijaya Vilāsa agree with Chitsukha and other ancient biographers with regard to the account given of Sanandana by them, but they introduce him to Śaṅkara at Badarikāśrama before Śaṅkara leaves that place for Kālaṭi to attend to his mother's spiritual benefit and makes him receive Sannyāsa from the hands of Śaṅkara at Badarikāśrama itself. They both state that Sanandana's family name was Viṣṇu Sarman, but while the

finds his aged and revered Guru, Govinda Bhagavatpāda, lying on his death-bed surrounded by his devoted son Bhartṛihari and his other loving disciples anxiously watching the last moments of his mundane existence as a Yogin, and is deeply moved at the pitiable sight of his teacher who had already lost his consciousness. It was the Pūrṇimā (Full-Moon) day of the month of Kārtika of the year 2646 of the Yuddhiṣṭhira Śaka, and on hearing the sweet voice of Śaṅkara crying by his side, Govinda Bhagavatpāda suddenly recovers his senses, rises up like a strong healthy man from his bed, embraces Śaṅkara with his arms, exhorts him to undertake his victorious tour (Dig-Vijaya) throughout India to establish his Advaita Philosophy in the world, orders his pupils to follow Śaṅkara in future as their master, imparts to them his last lesson on the duties of a Sannyāsin called ¹⁰⁴ Turiyāśrama Dharmopadeśa, blesses Śaṅkara once more

former makes him son of Somaśarman, a native of the village of Śrī Kuṇḍa in Kerala, the latter represents him as son of Mādhava, a native of Ahobala in Kurnool District. Sadānanda and Mādhava, on the other hand, represent him as a native of some place in the Tanjore District on the bank of the Kāverī in the country of the Cholas and introduce him to Śaṅkara only after he goes to Benares; but it is somewhat curious that Sanandana should be described by them as Śaṅkara's first Sishya, while they describe him as possessing many other disciples before Sanandana goes to him. Evidently some of these later biographers of Śaṅkara have made a confusion between Chitsukha and Sanandana, and have practically reduced them to a single individual.

¹⁰⁴ The Turiyāśrama Dharmopadeśa, according to the Chitsukha's Brihat Śaṅkara Vijaya consists of 12 verses and begins with the following stanzas:

“ब्रह्मचर्याश्रमे खिन्नो गुरुशुश्रूषणे रतः ।

वेद नधीत्यानुज्ञात उच्यते गुरुणाश्रमी ॥ १ ॥

and ensures him success in his grand undertaking and quietly passes away from the world, ¹⁰⁵ Yogin as he was, uttering the sacred syllable Om (Prajāva) as his last word on this earth.

दार माहृत्य सदृश मग्नि माधाय शक्तितः ।

ब्राह्मी मिष्टि यजे तासा महोरात्रेण निर्वपेत् ॥ २ ॥”

The work is concluded with the following stanzas:—

“कुण्डिकां चमसं शिष्यं त्रिविष्टप मुपानहम् ।

शीतोपधातिनीं कन्थां कौपीनाच्छादनं तथा ॥ ७ ॥

पवित्रं स्नानशाटीं तु चोत्तरासङ्गदण्डके ।

अतोऽतिरिक्तं यत्किञ्चित् सर्वं त द्वर्जये द्यतिः ॥ ८ ॥

नदीपुलिनशायी स्या देवागारेषु बाह्यतः ।

नात्यर्थं सुखदुःखाभ्यां शरीर मुपतापयेत् ॥ ९ ॥

स्नानं ध्यानं तथा शौचं मद्भिः पूताभि राचरेत् ।

स्तूयमानो न तुष्येत निन्दितो न शपेत् परान् ॥ १० ॥

हिरण्यानि पात्राणि कृष्णायसमयानि च ।

यतीनां ता न्यपात्राणि वर्जये तानि भिक्षुकः ॥ ११ ॥

भिक्षाटनं जपः शौचं स्नानं ध्यानं सुरार्चनम् ।

कर्तव्यानि षडेतानि सर्वदा नृपदण्डवत् ॥ १२ ॥”

¹⁰⁵ Speaking of the Brahmībhāva of Govinda Bhagavatpāda, Chitsukha writes as follow:—

“इत्थं प्रशास्य प्रवयाः स्वशिष्यान् शङ्करानुगान् ।

नियोज्य शङ्कराचार्यं मद्रैतस्थापने गुरुः ॥

सोऽहमस्मीति निश्चित्य विसृज्येतरकाङ्क्षितान् ।

ओमित्येकाक्षरं ब्रह्म ध्यायन्नन्तः परं शिवम् ॥

शास्त्रश्रुत्यङ्गनेत्राब्दे युधिष्ठिरशकस्य वै ।

प्लवङ्गे कार्तिके मासि पूर्णिमायां गुरो दिने ॥

As soon as the ceremonies connected with the Siddhi of Govinda Bhagavatpāda are over, and his body is interred in a Samādhi¹⁰⁶ constructed by the disciples for the time being, Sanandana respectfully approaches Sankara and requests him to initiate him into the mysteries of the Advaita

“श्रीमद्गौडपदाचार्यशिष्यो योगविदां वरः ।
गोविन्दभगवत्पादः सिद्धिं संप्राप संयमी ॥”

(Bṛihat Saṅkara Vijaya, Prakaraṇa 52.)

¹⁰⁶ It is stated by Chitsukhāchārya, in his Bṛihat Saṅkara Vijaya, that when the wonderful news of the Siddhi (death) of Govinda Bhagavatpāda reached the ears of Śrīharsha Vikramāditya, the then Emperor of Ujjayini, he proceeded to the island of Māndhātā in Amareśvara on the bank of the Narmadā where the sacred body of his revered father was interred by his disciples and in memory of his sacred name whose last word was Oṅkāra, caused the great temple of Oṅkāranātha erected over his Samādhi. Compare also the following verse of Patañjali Charitra (VIII-72)

“गोविन्दस्य त्रतिकुलगुरोः सिद्धि माकर्ण्य कृत्वा
यत् कर्तव्यं तदपि वररुच्यादयो भ्रातर स्ते ।
स्वे स्वे कर्मण्यवहितधियो विद्यया कीर्तिमन्त
श्चत्वारोऽपि स्थिति मभिमता मुज्जयिन्या मकुर्वन् ॥”

We are told by reliable persons that the great shrine of Oṅkāranātha constructed by Śrīharsha Vikramāditya in memory of his sacred father, is even to this day considered by the Hindus as one of their most sacred places of pilgrimage and that a grand festival is celebrated every year in this shrine on the Purnimā day of the month of Kārtika in memory of the great day on which Govinda Bhagavatpāda attained his Brahmībhāva. It is said that this festival attracts over 15,000 devotees from all parts of the country who consider the sanctity of the Narmadā on this day of the year above that of any other river, and say that while it requires 3 days bathing in the Sarasvatī 7 days in the Yamuna and 1 day in Gaṅga, the mere sight of the Narmadā at this place suffices to make men pure.

Philosophy. Sankara accordingly admits him into the sacred order of Sannyāsins, invests him with the Kāshaya-robe of an ascetic and teaches him the essence of his Philosophy by composing his famous Vedāntic poem known as ¹⁰⁷ Atma-Bodha for the benefit of his newly initiated disciple and also for the instruction of the Śishyas of Govinda Bhagavatpāda who had now become his own

¹⁰⁷ Atma-Bodha is one of the Vedāntic Poems or Prakaraṇas written by Saṅkara at Amareśvara on the bank of the Narmadā after he had composed his Shodāśa Bhāṣyas on the Prasthānatraya, elucidating the nature of the Soul and its oneness with the Supreme Self. It consists of 68 stanzas beginning with :

“तपोभिः क्षीणपापानां शान्तानां वीतरागिणाम् ।
मुमुक्षूणा मपेक्ष्योऽय मात्मबोधो विधीयते ॥”

The concluding stanza runs as follows :—

“दिग्देशकालाद्यनपेक्ष्य सर्वगं
शीतादिहृ न्नित्यसुखं निरञ्जनम् ।
यः स्वात्मतीर्थं भजते विनिष्क्रियः
स सर्ववित् सर्वगतोऽमृतो भवेत् ॥”

Chitsukha says that Sanandana who afterwards become known as Padmapādāchārya wrote a commentary on this grand Prakaraṇa which was specially composed by Saṅkara for his benefit, and even to this day we have his commentary on Atma-Bodha Prakaraṇa called Vedānta Sāra in the shape of manuscripts in many of the libraries of India. The poem is also available with a commentary called Dīpikā by Viśveśvara Paṇḍita, but both these commentaries are still unpublished. Only the text has been printed in the Devanāgarī character. There is however a Telugu edition which contains not only the Text, but also a Telugu commentary called Atma-Bodha-Prakāśikā, written by Purāṇa Kṛishṇa Sāstri. The text is also available with translation in English and Tamil.

disciples. The initiation¹⁰⁸ of Sanandana being over, Sankara desires to start on his triumphal tour and all the disciples express their willingness to follow him in his Universal Conquest of Religions and Philosophies of the world.

Protected with the armour of Vairāgya, armed with the shield of Jñāna, holding the bow of Pranava-Dhyāna, ready with various kinds of arrows in the form of Sama, Dama, etc., equipped with guns of Prasthānatraya-Bhāshyas, furnished with weapons of Vedāntic poems, the King of the Ascetics prepares himself for his Universal Philosophic War and starts on his triumphal march from Amareśvara, the present small capital of his spiritual kingdom with his ever-devoted Chitsukha as his aid-de-camp, with his all-wise Sanandana as his commander-in-chief, and with the host of his loving disciples as his soldiers. The first place that attracted his attention as deserving his visit was Prayāga, the most ancient seat of learning among the A'ryas ever since the time of the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, but which since the time that Gautama Buddha began to preach on its sacred soil, had been reduced to an insignificant dependency under the despotic sway of his bigoted and ignorant followers and Sankara accordingly arrives at Prayāga (the modern Allahabad) where the Tīrtha-Rāja,¹⁰⁹ the king of the

¹⁰⁸ According to Chitsukha and Ānandagiri, the initiation of Sanandana into Sannyāsa by Saṅkara took place in the island of Mandhātā on the Narmadā where Govindā Bhagavatpāda attained his Brahmībhava and Saṅkara starts on his triumphal tour (Dig Vijaya) from this place. Of the later biographers of Saṅkara, some place this incident at Badarikāśrama, and some at Benares from which Saṅkara is said to have started on his Universal Conquest of Religions.

¹⁰⁹ Prayāga is the name by which modern Allahabad was known in ancient Hindu writings such as the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata.

shrines shines in his glory, with the two noble-born maids—the Rivers Gangā and Yamunā—waving their white and blue *chowries* on either side of him, and with the Imperishable Holy Banyan Tree (Akshaya-Vaṭa) serving as the azure-coloured royal umbrella over his head.

It was the Māghī Amāvāsyā day¹¹⁰ one of the most important days of Māgha-Mela, and Sankara is immensely pleased with the sight of Prayāga which he wishes to restore to its former greatness by firmly establishing his Advaita Philosophy there. He accordingly goes with his disciples, bathes at the confluence of the rivers Gangā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī known as¹¹¹ Trivenī and as a dutiful son and

According to one tradition, it was so called because the God Brahmā of the Hindu Trinity had performed many sacrifices here and it is hence called Prajāpati-Kshetra. The following is the etymological meaning of the word Prayāga as given in the Skānda Purāṇa :—

“प्रकृष्टं सर्वयागेभ्यः प्रयाग मिति गीयते ।

दृष्ट्वा प्रकृष्टं यागेभ्यः पुष्टेभ्यो दक्षिणादिभिः ।

प्रयाग मिति तन्नाम कृतं हरिहरादिभिः ॥”

It bears the title of Tīrtha-Rāja, the holy of the holy places, because according to a legend when all the holy shrines were placed on one scale and Prayāga on the other, the former kicked the beam.

¹¹⁰ The great Māgha-Mela days are Makara-Saṅkrānti, Māghī-Amāvāsyā, Māghī-Pūrṇimā and Māghī-Sukla-Pañchami. Of these, the Māghī-Amāvāsyā (the New-moon day of the month of Māgha) is considered very sacred for Pitṛis, when the offering of water and Piṇḍa to one's deceased ancestors is considered a pious duty of every pilgrim.

¹¹¹ Trivenī is the name given to the confluence of the rivers Ganges and Jumna. It literally means the three-braided or the three-streamed. Its two braids are visible in the streams of the Ganges and

disciple he offers oblations of water (Tarpana) to his mother and Guru to enable them both to attain eternal happiness. After visiting the various ¹¹²sacred places at Prayāga, Sankara goes to ¹¹³Bharadvājaśrama, the Hermitage of Bharadvāja, the great Kulapati ¹¹⁴ whose generous hospitality Rāma, Lakshmaṇa and Sītā with their host of Vānaras and Rākshasas enjoyed when they halted at Prayāga on their way to Chitrakūṭa and determines to stay there for sometime to preach his Philosophy to the citizens of that place. It was at this time that Śaṅkara is said to have composed

the Jumna, but there has been the tradition of a third river Sarasvatī meeting there. The Brāhma Purāṇa says :—

“गङ्गायमुनयो मध्ये अन्तस्सलिलं यत्र सरस्वती ।
तस्या दर्शनमात्रेण पूतो भवति पातकी ॥

प्रकृष्टत्वात् प्रयागोऽसौ प्राधान्या द्वाजशब्दवान् ।
तीर्थराजप्रयागस्य दर्शनं भुवि दुर्लभम् ॥”

¹¹² The Prayāga-Māhātmya enumerates the following as the chief places which the pilgrims are enjoined to visit :—

“त्रिवेणीं, माधवं, सोमं, भरद्वाजं च वासुकिम् ।
वन्देऽक्षयवटं, शेषं, प्रयागे तीर्थनायकम् ॥”

¹¹³ The grounds around Bharadvāja's Temple is pointed out even to day as the Hermitage of Bharadvāja. In the days of the Rāmāyaṇa, the hermitage is said to have been situated on the bank of the Ganges, but the river seems to have receded from its former course since these days and it is now situated in the quarter called Colonelganj in the Kātra ward of the Municipality.

¹¹⁴ The sage Bharadvāja was a Kulapati. A Kulapati of old, as the following stanza describes,

“मुनीनां दशसाहस्रं यो ऽन्नदानादिपोषणात् ।
अध्यापयति विप्रैः स वै कुलपतिः स्मृतः ॥”

some of his minor poems such as ¹¹⁵Prayāgāshṭaka, ¹¹⁶Yamu-

was one who provided education to ten thousand pious students and gave them free board and lodgings. As has been well pointed out in a recent book called 'Prayag or Allahabad' published by the Modern Review Office at Calcutta, "it would follow that the grounds around Bharadvāja's abode was the seat of a local university at Prayāg. What a coincidence that after so many centuries the neighbourhood of Bharadvāja Muni's Temple has become the seat of the University of Allahabad and of the Premier Government College of the Province and of the Boarding Houses and Hostels of hundreds of residential students! The Spirit of Learning, an Indian poet may well sing, did not like to abandon her old haunts and has come back again." It deserves to be pointed out that it was at this hermitage that Lord Buddha first preached his Dharma about 2000 B.C.; and that Śaṅkara who came nearly 1500 years after his time, also first began to preach his Philosophy to the world on this very sacred place as the World's Great Teacher.

¹¹⁵ Prayāgāshṭaka, as the name itself implies, is a collection of 8 stanzas in praise of Prayāga and begins as follows :—

“सितासिते यत्र तरङ्गचामरे नद्यौ विभातो मुनिभानुकन्यके ।
लीलातपत्रं वट एव साक्षात् स तीर्थराजो जयति प्रयागः ॥”

Chitsukha in his Bṛihat Śaṅkara Vijaya winds up the Aṣṭaka with the following verse :

“पुर्यः सप्त प्रसिद्धाः प्रतिवचनकरी स्तोत्रराजस्य नार्थो
वैकट्यान्मुक्तिदाने प्रभवति गुरुणा काश्यते ब्रह्म यस्याम् ।
सेयं रात्रीप्रधाना प्रियवचनकरी मुक्तिदानेन युक्ता
येन ब्रह्माण्डमध्ये स जयति सुतरां तीर्थराजः प्रयागः ॥”

In the Stotra-Pustakas, a Prayāgāshṭaka is given containing some of these stanzas and is said to be taken from Matsya-Purāṇa.

¹¹⁶ Yamunāshṭaka is a collection of 8 stanzas in praise of Yamunā (Jumna) and begins as follows :—

“मुरारिकायकालिमाललामवारिधारिणी
तृणीकृतत्रिविष्टपा त्रिलोकशोकहारिणी ।

nāshṭaka, ¹¹⁷ Mādhavāshṭaka, ¹¹⁸ Lakshmi-Nṛsihṃa-Pañcha-

मनोनुकूलकुञ्जपुञ्जधूतदुर्मदा

धुनोतु नो मनोमलं कलिन्दनन्दिनी सदा ॥”

This is not to be confounded with the other Yamunāshṭaka, beginning with “कृपापारावारा” etc., composed by Śaṅkara at Mathurā.

¹¹⁷ Mādhavāshṭaka is a collection of 8 stanzas in praise of Viṣṇu, said to have been composed by Śaṅkara on the occasion of his visit to the Temple of Ādi Mādhava, situated on the southern bank of the Yamunā, opposite the confluence. The first stanza, according to Chitsukha, begins as follows :—

“अच्युतं केशवं सत्यभामाधवं माधवं श्रीधरं राधिकाराधितम् ।
इन्दिरामन्दिरं चेतसा सुन्दरं देवकीनन्दनं नन्दजं सन्दधे ॥”

The last stanza runs as follows :—

“कुञ्चितैः कुन्तलैः भ्रजिमानाननं रत्नमौलिं लसत्कुण्डलं गण्डयोः ।
हारकेयूरकं कङ्कणप्रोज्ज्वलं किङ्किणीमञ्जुलं माधवं सन्दधे ॥”

In the Stotra-Pustakas, the order of the stanzas is somewhat different and the Ashṭaka itself is variously called Achutāshṭaka or Mādhavāshṭaka.

¹¹⁸ Lakshmi-Nṛsihṃa-Pañcharatna is a collection of 5 stanzas in praise of Lakshmi-Narasimha said to have been composed by Śaṅkara when he visited God Nṛsihṃa in the Pātālapurī Temple at Prayāga. The first stanza runs as follows :

“त्वत्प्रभुजीवप्रियमिच्छसि चेन्नरहरिपूजां कुरु सततं
प्रतिबिम्बालङ्कृतिधृतिकुशलो बिम्बालङ्कृति माधव ते ।
चेतोभृङ्ग भ्रमसि वृधा भवमरुभूमौ निरसायां
भज भज लक्ष्मीनरसिह्यश्रीनखपदसरसिजमकरन्दम् ॥”

The last stanza is given as follows :—

“तव हित मेकं वचनं वक्ष्ये शृणु सुखकामो यदि सततं,
स्वप्ने दृष्टं सकलं हि मृषा जायति च स्मर तद्व दिति ।

ratna and ¹¹⁹ Vedaśāra-Siva-Stotra.

In that ancient centre of learning, Śaṅkara soon distinguishes himself in dialectics and philosophy and begins to propound his Bhāṣhyas on the Vedānta Sūtras, the Upanishads and the Bhagavatgītā to his numerous disciples. In a short time, his fame as a great Vedāntic teacher reaches the nook and corner of Āryāvarta and intelligent men ¹²⁰ from

चेतोभृङ्ग भ्रमसि वृधा भवमरुभूमौ निरसायां,
भज भज लक्ष्मीनरसिह्यश्रीनखपदसरसिजमकरन्दम् ॥”

¹¹⁹ Vedaśāra-Siva-Stotra, or Someśvarāshṭaka as Chitsukha calls it, is a collection of 8 stanzas in praise of Siva, said to have been composed by Śaṅkara at Prayāga when he visited the Temple of Someśvara Mahādeva situated on the south bank of the Ganges at a short distance east of Ādi Mādhava. The first stanza runs as follows :—

“पशूनां पतिं पापनाशं, गजेन्द्रस्य कृतिं वसानं वरेण्यम् ।
जटाजूटमध्ये स्फुरद्गाङ्गवारि, महादेव मेकं भजे सोमनाथम् ॥१॥

The last stanza runs as follows :—

“नमस्ते नमस्ते विभो विश्वमूर्ते, नमस्ते नमस्ते चिदानन्दमूर्ते ।
नमस्ते नमस्ते तपोयोगगम्य, नमस्ते नमस्ते श्रुतीनामगम्य ॥२॥”

In the Stotra-Pustakas, three more stanzas beginning with “प्रभो शूलपाणे” are found added at the end of the poem, but they are not given by Chitsukha in his Bṛihat Śaṅkara Vijaya.

¹²⁰ Śaṅkara Vijaya Vilāsa which mainly follows Chitsukha's work, mentions Viṣṇugupta, Suddhakīrti, Bhānumarīchi, Kṛishṇadarśana, Viriñchicharaṇa and Buddhivīddhi as the more important of the distinguished scholars that resorted to him for instruction. After describing Śaṅkara's arrival at Prayāga, Chidvilāsa says :—

“ततः प्रयाग मासाद्य सद्यः श्रेयःप्रदं नृणाम् ।
त्रिवेण्यः सुकृतश्रेण्या मघसृण्या मनुक्षणम् ॥

various quarters come to him almost every day and seek admission as his pupils to study the Vedānta Philosophy under him. Sankara would go with his disciples early in the morning to bathe at Trivenī, and as soon as his Anusṭhāna was over, he would return to Bharadvājaśrama with them and propound his Bhāshyas and Prakaraṇas to them. In the afternoon, he would hold discussions with his disciples, answer all their queries and clear all their doubts. In this way Sankara has been spending his at time Prayāga.

On one of these days Sankara went out with his disci-

स्तात्त्वैव जननीमोक्षसाधनानि समाहितः ।
ततान् देशिकस्याऽपि मोक्षसाम्राज्यसंपदम् ॥
पाठयन् ब्रह्मसूत्रार्थबोधकं भाष्य मन्वहम् ।
भाष्यं दशोपनिषदामन्यासां च सविस्तरम् ।
श्रीमद्भगवदुक्ताया गीताया भाष्य मुत्तमम् ।
शिष्यान् विपश्चितो विप्रान् नानादेश समागतान् ।
कञ्चित् कालं मुवासाऽथ बोधयन् ससनन्दनः ॥
आसेतुहिमवच्छैलं कीर्तिं व्याप्ता गुरो रथ ।
भाष्य मन्वेतुकामा ये विशुद्धाद्वैतबोधकम् ॥
मुनयो बहवो याता नानाक्षेत्रनिवासिनः ।
समित्पाणि विष्णुमुत्तः, शुद्धकीर्तिं मुनीश्वरः ॥
धीमान् भानुमरीचिश्च, कृष्णदर्शननामवान् ।
विरिञ्चिचरणो योगी, बुद्धिवृद्धि रथाऽपरः ॥
इत्याद्या मुनिवर्यास्तं शङ्कराचार्यं मन्वयुः ॥”

Chitsukha adds to this many more names such as Driḍhabhaktā Medhatithi, Nityānanda, Yogānanda, Bhārativamśa, Subodha and Sumati.

ples to see the Akshaya-vaṭa,¹²¹ when to his disappointment he found an orthodox young Brāhman at the foot of the tree trying to put an end to his life. He was completely affected with leprosy. His body was horribly white like a pumpkin gourd and his eyes had lost all their power of sight. He looked like an owl and could not face the sun. Out of sheer shame and in order to avoid the sight of his countrymen he wanted to commit this act of suicide, when to his fortune he saw before his eyes Sankara with his disciples like the great Teacher Mahādeva with his host of hoary devotees. He cried to Sankara for mercy and protection and Sankara's heart was deeply moved with pity. Sankara touched him with his hands, and the man was perfectly cured. Miraculously enough all the marks of leprosy on the body of the young Brāhman had disappeared and he was perfectly able to look at all things. In fact, he became a most charming young man and people exclaimed at him as Udanka, as one

¹²¹ The Akshaya-Vaṭa or the Imperishable Banyan Tree, is one of the most prominently associated with Prayāga from the most ancient times. It is the “Śyama-Vaṭa” to which Sītā prayed mentioned in the Ayodhyākāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa. The Chinese traveller Hiouen Tsang speaks to its existence in the 7th century A. D. The construction of Allahabad Fort by Akbar in 1584 A.D. doomed it. But the Imperishable Tree still holds its own ground. Inside the Fort, in the underground building called Pātālapuri, pilgrims are still shown its relics. Numberless human beings in past ages ended their lives by flinging themselves from that tree down below in the hope of acquiring in their next incarnation what they wished for at the moment of death. Compare the stanzas from Kāśī-Khaṇḍa :

“तत्राक्षय्यवटो योऽस्ति ससपातालमूलवान् ।

प्रलयेऽपि यमारुह्य मृकण्डुतनयोऽवसत् ॥

हिरण्यगर्भो विज्ञेयः स साक्षाद्वटरूपधृक् ।

तत्समीपे द्विजान् भक्त्या संभोज्याक्षय्यपुण्यभाक् ॥

deprived of all the marks of leprosy. The young man requested Śankara to initiate him into the mysteries of the Vedānta Philosophy and to admit him as one of his disciples. Śankara soon found out that he was fully qualified to receive instructions in the Vedānta and that he had been reduced to this pitiable condition owing to his want of belief in his Guru. Within the time required for composing a single verse called Ekaśloka, ¹²² Śankara made him realize

अकामो वा सकामो वा वटमूले मुनीश्वराः ।
शीघ्रं प्राणान् प्रमुञ्चेत् यदीच्छेत् परमां गतिम् ॥”

¹²² Ekaśloka is the name given to a single stanza. said to have been addressed to Udaṅka, a leper, by Śaṅkara with a view to liberate him from the bondage of recurring births by imparting to him the knowledge of the Vedānta. The following is that famous stanza :

“किं ज्योति स्तव? भानुमा नहनि मे, रात्रौ प्रदीपादिकं,
स्या देव! रविदीपदर्शनविधौ किं ज्योति राख्याहि मे?
चक्षुः, तस्य निमीलनादिसमये किं? घीः, धियोदर्शने
किं? तत्राहं, अतो भवान् परमकं ज्योतिः! त दस्मि प्रभो ॥”

There is a beautiful commentary on this celebrated verse called *Tatva-Dīpana* by Svayamprakāśa Yogīndra, a disciple of Gopāla Yogīndra. As to the origin of the poem, the learned commentator says as follows:

“इह खलु भगवान् सर्वज्ञश्चन्द्रचूडावतारो,
“अष्टवर्षे चतुर्वेदी द्वादशे सर्वशास्त्रवित् ।
षोडशे कृतवान् भाष्यं द्वात्रिंशे मुनि रत्यगात् ॥”

इत्यादिगुणविशिष्टो भगवदभिधानो दुर्वादिदर्वीकरमन्त्रराजः शङ्कराचार्यः, तीर्थैरिव त्रिभुवनं पावयन्, सदैवैरिव संरक्षन्, चन्द्र इवाऽऽप्याययन्, कल्याणचरितं रत्नैरिवाऽलङ्कुर्वन्, शश्वद्विश्वं विचचार । तत्र कदाचिद् ग्रामविशेषे कूष्माण्डमिव पाण्डुराङ्गं,

his own self by putting to him a series of questions and getting out appropriate answers from his own mouth. He then admitted him into the order of Sannyāsins under the very name Udaṅka by which he was hailed by the wondering crowd when he was cured of his leprosy and the young man ever since that time became one of the staunch disciples of Śankara.

On another day Śankara had been with his disciples to Pratishthāna-purī, ¹²³ the ancient capital of the kings of the

उलकमिव सूर्यावलोकनाक्षमं, लज्जयाजनावलोकनाक्षमं ‘मां त्राहि त्राहि’ इति पुनः पुनः प्रणमन्तं कञ्चन कुष्ठिनं साधनचतुष्टय-संपन्नं मालोक्य, परमकारुणिकत्वेन ताव देवं संसारसङ्कटान् मोचयन्, कृतार्थीकुर्या मिति निश्चित्य,

“तेषां महं समुद्धर्ता मृत्युसंसारसागरात् ।”

इति प्रतिज्ञापरिपालनार्थं तथाचकार । तदुपदेशवचनं लोकपरिपालनार्थं मेव “अस्तमित आदित्ये, याज्ञवल्क्य, चन्द्रमस्यस्तमिते, शान्तेऽग्नौ, शान्तायां वाचि, किं ज्योतिरेवाऽयं पुरुष इति, आत्मैवाऽस्य ज्योतिर्भवतीति—आत्मनैवाऽयं ज्योतिषाऽस्ते, पत्ययते, कर्मकुरुते, विपत्येतीति—कतम आत्मेति, योऽयं विज्ञानमयः प्राणेषु हृच्चन्तज्योतिः पुरुषः ।” इति बृहदारण्यकषष्ठाध्यायानिष्ठजनक याज्ञवल्क्यसंवादरूपज्योतिर्ब्राह्मणवाक्यार्थं मनसि निधाय, प्रश्नोत्तरश्लोकरूपेण निबबन्ध । तत्र प्रश्नव्याजेन तद्वाक्येनैव तत्त्वं बोधयितुं तमेव शिष्यं पृच्छति ‘किं ज्योति स्तव’ इत्यादिना ।”

The poem and the story of Udaṅka are given in Chitsukhāchārya's *Bṛihat Śaṅkara Vijaya* where the stanza is known under the name of Ekaśloki. The stanza is so given in the Telugu Edition of a book containing Śaṅkara's *Aparokṣānubhūti*; but the commentary is still unpublished.

¹²³ Pratishthāna-purī just forms the eastern boundary of Prayāga. It is now known as Jhansi, a small village situated alongside the Ganges.

Lunar dynasty, where Prabhākaraāchārya, one of the distinguished disciples of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, the celebrated advocate of Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā, lived with his own select followers, advocating a new school of Karma-Mīmāṃsā distinct from that of his Guru's. Out of rivalry with his own preceptor, Prabhākara set at naught all those who did not perform sacrifices and other religious duties; and promulgated that *Karma* alone, as enjoined in the Vēdas, was the end and aim of all the Sāstras. According to him, there is, in fact, no Superior Deity other than what is aimed at by the use of the ending of the dative case.

opposite the Allahabad Fort, Akbar's bund and Daraganj. Pratishṭhāna is mentioned in some of the oldest works of Sanskrit Literature and the great poet Kālidāsa lays the scene of his play Vikramorvaśīya in Pratishṭhāna. How long Pratishṭhāna continued to flourish as a capital of ruling kings one cannot say. At the time of Sāṅkara, Pratishṭhāna had not lost its name, and it continued to be a famous Brāhmaṇāgrahāra under the name of Śrī Vallī, until it was destroyed by a conflagration leaving only its ruins which ever since that time went by the name of Jhūnsī—the burnt village—from the Hindi root *Jhausana*, to be burnt. Referring to this Agrahāra which he is not able to identify, Mādhava writes in his Sāṅkara Vijaya as follows:—

“श्रयतिस्म ततोऽग्रहारकं श्री-वलिसंज्ञं स कदाचन स्वशिष्यैः ।
अनुगेहहुताग्निहोत्रदुग्ध-प्रसरत्पावनगन्धलोभनीयम् ॥
यतोऽपमृत्युर्बहिरेव याति भ्रान्त्वा प्रदेशं शनकै रलब्ध्वा ।
दृष्ट्वा द्विजातीं त्रिजकर्मनिष्ठान् दूरा त्रिषिद्धं त्यजतोऽप्रमत्तान् ॥
यस्मिन् सहस्रद्वितयं जनानां मन्याहितानां श्रुतिपाठकानाम् ।
वसत्यवश्यं श्रुतिचोदितासु क्रियासु दक्षं प्रथितानुभावम् ॥
तत्र द्विजः कश्चन शास्त्रवेदी प्रभाकराख्यः प्रथितानुभावः ।
प्रवृत्तिशास्त्रैकरतः सुबुद्धि रास्ते क्रतून्मीलितकीर्तिवृन्दः ॥”

On hearing the arrival of Sāṅkara with his disciples at his own Agrahāra, ¹²⁴ Prabhākaraādhvarin elated with the superiority of his own view of Karma-Mīmāṃsā and desirous of converting Sāṅkara also into his own faith, goes out to Sāṅkara with numerous orthodox followers and impresses upon him the importance of his own School of Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā Philosophy. Sāṅkara calmly argues with him, taking his opponent's own stand point and in a few hours convinces him that Jñāna or the Knowledge of the Supreme Brahman alone is the final means for attaining Moksha and that *Karma* or the adherence to the duties enjoined in the Vēdas is only a means to attain purity of heart (Chitta-suddhi) which leads to Parā-Bhakti or Supreme Devotion to the Lord and which, in its turn, leads to Jñāna or the knowledge of the oneness of the individual soul with the supreme Soul (Brahmātmaikyā-Jñāna) by which alone Mukti or the attainment of the state of Brahman by the Jīvas can be realized.

The result is that not only Prabhākara becomes a disciple of Sāṅkara, but the whole of his Agrahāra (Pratishṭhāna) is converted into Sāṅkara's faith. Prabhākara who

¹²⁴ In all the ancient biographies of Sāṅkara, the great advocate of the Atheistic School of Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā and the father of the renowned Hastāmālaka to be described hereafter, is known only under this name: Sāṅkara Vijaya Vilāsa calls him Divākarādhvarin. The Kēralīya Sāṅkara Vijaya, on the other hand, mentions one Śiva as the father of Hastāmālaka; and represents him as a native of a Brāhmaṇāgrahāra called Śiva-Vihāra and describes Hastāmālaka as having become a disciple of Sāṅkara after Surēśvara's conversion. Mādhava and Sadānanda agree with the ancient biographers and represent Hastāmālaka as the son of Prabhākaraāchārya, though they also place the conversion of Hastāmālaka, after that of Surēśvara.

had already heard the fame of Sankara in having cured Udanka of his white leprosy, now throws himself at the feet of Saṅkara with his son Prithvidhara and requests him to cure the young boy of his disease.

Prithvidhara, ¹²⁵ by which name Prabhākara called his son, stopped talking with men from his fifth year. He

¹²⁵ It is to be noted that while Chitsukha calls Hastāmalaka by the name of Prithvidhara, Ānandagiri calls him by that of Prithvidhava. But they both agree in describing him as the son of Prabhākara and as having been converted by Saṅkara into Saṇnyāsa at Srivalli-Agrahāra at Pratishthāna, long before the conversion of Maṇḍana Miśra into Suresvarāchārya. Even Saṅkara Vijaya Vilāsa places this incident at Prayāga, exactly as we find in Chitsukha's Bṛihat Saṅkara Vijaya, and describes the young boy in the following terms:—

“तदन्तरे तु संख्यावान् प्रयागक्षेत्र माश्रितः ।
 दिवाकराध्वरीत्येव नाम्ना सर्वत्र विश्रुतः ॥
 अनेडमूक स्तस्या ऽऽसीत् पुत्रः स्थाणु रिवापरः ।
 यथाजातव दाभाति पश्यन् या जनसंसदः ॥
 नाऽजिघ्रत् खाति किञ्चिद्वा न पिपासति किञ्चन ।
 न स्पन्दते न वदति क्रिमिकीटादिदंशने ॥
 किं वा पिशाचिकाग्रस्तः किमु यक्षेण पीडितः ।
 ब्रह्मारक्षोपभुक्तोवा किं वा मत्पापसंचयः ॥
 इत्थं विचिन्तयन् भूयः किं कर्तुं मुचितं त्विह ।
 उपनेष्याम्यमुं पुत्रं यो वा को वा भव त्वयम् ॥
 उपनीतं ततश्चक्रे विक्रयाय क्रमोचिताम् ।
 मार्गमाणो गदस्याऽस्य प्रतीकारक्रियाक्षमम् ॥
 वाञ्छन्नविद्यत गृहे चिन्तासन्तमसावृतः ॥”

would not care to eat, would not like to play with the children in the village and would not even cry when he was beaten. The father thought that he was possessed of spirit and tried his best to cure him by performing all sorts of ceremonies prescribed in the Śāstras; but he could not be cured. With the greatest difficulty Prabhākara had managed to get his dumb son invested with the sacred thread, but he would not read the Vēdas or perform his Sandhyāvandana. In fact he continued to be dead to the world for all practical purposes. He now places his son before Saṅkara and requests him to cure him of his disease. Saṅkara at once finds out that the young boy is a born Yōgin, that he has realized the Brahman from his infancy, and that he assumed this dumbness to avoid all the ceremonials which his father was enforcing upon all as man's sole end and aim. The revered Guru blessed the young boy with his inspiring glances, placed his hand gently upon his head and ¹²⁶ asked him who he was and why he was so behaving.

Mādhava and Sadānanda describe the condition of Hastāmalaka, Prabhākara's son before his conversion, in very much the same terms of exaggeration, while the account given of him by Chitsukha is devoid of all such improbabilities and exaggerations.

¹²⁶ The famous question put to Hastāmalaka by Saṅkara is embodied in most of the Saṅkara Vijayas in the following terms:

“कस्त्वं शिशो? कस्य? कुतोऽसि गन्ता?
 किं नाम ते? त्वं कुत आगतोऽसि?
 एत द्वद त्वं मम सुप्रसिद्धं,
 मत्प्रीतये प्रीतिविवर्धनोऽसि ॥”

So much so, the verse in question has been considered to be part and parcel of the famous Hastāmalaka-Śloka and has been so printed in all the editions of the poem.

Prithvidhara, thereupon, burst into an eloquent and melodious song consisting of 12 verses known as ¹²⁷ Hastāmalaka Ślokas describing the true nature of his soul and his great veneration for the Great Advaitāchārya, and requests Saṅkara to accept him as one of his disciples and to initiate him as a Sannyāsin. Prabhākara is surprised at the wonderful change of his son and requests Saṅkara to initiate him into the mysteries of the Advaita Philosophy and make him also a regular Sannyāsin. Saṅkara accordingly composes

¹²⁷ Hastāmalaka-Slokas or Hastāmalaka Stotra as it is called in Bṛihat Saṅkara Vijaya is said to contain the answer given to Saṅkara's question embodied in the above mentioned stanza and begins as follows :—

“निमित्तं मनश्चक्षुरादिप्रवृत्तौ,
निरस्ताखिलोपाधि-राकाशकल्पः ।
रवि लोकेष्टानिमित्तं यथा यः,
स नित्योपलब्धिस्वरूपोऽहमात्मा ॥ १ ॥”

The last stanza runs as follows :—

“उपाधौ यथा भेदता सन्मणीनं
तथा भेदता बुद्धिभेदेषु तेऽपि ।
यथा चन्द्रिकाणां जले चंचलत्वं
तथा चंचलत्वं तवाऽपीह विष्णो ॥ ११ ॥”

The sum and substance of the whole of this poem is described in the following single verse in almost all the Saṅkara Vijayas :

“नाऽहं मनुष्यो, न च देवयक्षो, न ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियवैश्यशूद्रः ।
न ब्रह्मचारी न गृही वनस्थो भिक्षुश्च नाऽहं निजबोधरूपः ॥”

which is accordingly embodied in all the editions as a part and parcel of this poem. There is an anonymous commentary on the Slokas of Hastāmalaka but it is available only in manuscripts. It begins with :

his famous Prakaraṇa called ¹²⁸ Tattvopadeśa and teaches it to Prabhākara, who ever since that time renounces the world, becomes a Sannyāsin and turns out to be a staunch supporter of Saṅkara's school of Vedānta Philosophy. Saṅkara is most glad to accept Prithvidhara as one of his chief disciples and admits him into the sacred order of the

“यदज्ञानाज्जगत्सर्वं यस्मिन्नेवाऽवभासते ।

विज्ञाते नास्ति तत्सर्वं, त द्वन्द्वे ब्रह्म सर्वगम् ॥

On the origin of the poem, it says :

“श्रीवल्ल्याख्ये ग्रामे कस्यचिद्विप्रस्य भूतत्वेनाऽऽविर्भूतदेहो जन्मान्तरानुष्ठितश्रवणादिना निवृत्तमिथ्याज्ञानो...मूढजनैः पिशा- चत्वेनाऽभिमतः शंकराचार्यैः कस्त्वमिति पृष्टः सन्, स्वानुभवं वदन....द्वादशभिः श्लोकै रात्मतत्त्वमुपनिषदर्थं समधिगम्य प्रत्यु- त्तरच्छलेनाऽह—“निमित्त”मित्यादिना ।”

¹²⁸ Tattvopadeśa is one of the minor poems said to have been composed by Saṅkara for the purpose of teaching his Advaita Philosophy to Prabhākara and contains 87 stanzas. The work begins as follows :—

“तत्त्वपदार्थशुद्धिचर्चं गुरुः शिष्यं वचोऽब्रवीत् ।
वाक्ये तत्त्वमसीत्यत्र त्वं पदार्थं विवेचय ॥ १ ॥
न त्वं देहोऽसि दृश्यत्वा दुपजात्यादिभेदतः ।
भौतिकत्वा दशुद्धत्वा दनित्यत्वा तथैव च ॥ २ ॥”

Chitsukha concludes the poem with the following stanza :

“इत्येवं बोधितो ब्राह्मामृतबोधात्मना द्विजः ।
गरुणा भाष्यकारेण प्रभाकरमखी महान् ॥”

But in the Nāgari edition published at Bombay, we find the name of Maṇḍana in place of Prabhākara in the concluding verse, in which case “Maṇḍana” must be taken to be a mere title of honour.

Sannyāsins of the class of Paramahansa Parivrajakas under the significant name of Hastāmalaka, ¹²⁹ as one who had realized the Brahman as an Āmalaka fruit held in one's own hand as well demonstrated by his famous poem called also Hastāmalaka-Slōkas. The ¹³⁰ conversion of Prabhākara

¹²⁹ On the origin of the name of Hastāmalaka, Saṅkara Vijaya Vilāsa has :—

“आत्मस्वरूप मेतेन हस्तामलकसंमितम् ।
दर्शितं पुरतः स्तस्मा न्मुदितो देशिकेश्वरः ॥
हस्तामलक इत्येव दत्तवा नभिधा मपि ॥”

Mādhava's Saṅkara Vijaya also explains the name as follows :—

“प्रकाशयन्ते परमात्मतत्त्वं
करस्थधात्रीफलवद्द्वेकम् ।
श्लोकाः स्तु हस्तामलकाः प्रसिद्धा
स्तत्कर्तुं राख्याऽपि तथैव वृत्ता ॥”

The following is the account given in the Kēralīya Saṅkara Vijaya :

“कस्त्वं द्विजात्मजैवं किं वर्तसे जडवत् सदा ।
बालोप्यबालबुद्धिस्तमुत्तरं निजगाद सः ॥
हृद्यैर्द्वादशभिः पद्यैः प्रकाशितचिदात्मकैः ।
करस्थधात्रीफलवत् चित्त्वरूपं प्रकाशितम् ॥
तत्पद्यैर्हि ततो ऽस्या ऽख्यहस्तामलक इत्यभूत् ।
द्विजपुत्रं निवृत्तं तं विज्ञाय यतिपुंगवः ॥
आचार्यो यतितां नीत्वा तं च भूसुरनन्दनम् ।
महात्मभिस्त्रिभिः शिष्यैर्विरेजे सुतरां ततः ॥

¹³⁰ It is said by Chitsukha that after he was converted by Saṅkara, Prabhākara destroyed all the works written by him on Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā. Before his conversion he was considered by his countrymen as the greatest of the Gurus and he was invariably called

chārya and the wonderful transformation of his dumb son Pṛithivīdhara into the eloquent Hastāmalaka Yōgindra created quite a sensation at Prayāga and its neighbourhoods and Saṅkara with his two new disciples walked towards Bharadvājaśrama followed by a thousand followers with cheers of joy and shouts of victory.

On another day while going to ¹³¹ Kauśāmbī, Saṅkara achieved a decidedly greater success by reviving a dead boy

Mahāmahopādhyāya Prabhākara Bhāṭṭāchārya and his School of Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā Philosophy was pre-eminently styled Guru-Mata. Almost all the works that we possess at present on the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā represent only the Bhāṭṭā-Mata, the School of Kumārila Bhāṭṭa; and the views of Prabhākara are briefly referred to in them only as Pūrvapaksha—an objection to be refuted. The only work in which his views are preserved to us in their full details is Prakaraṇa-Pāñchikā written by Śālikanātha, one of the direct disciples of Prabhākara himself, who, in spite of his Guru's conversion, continued to be a strict adherent and advocate of Prabhākara's School of Mīmāṃsā Philosophy. It consists of a number of Prakaraṇas, and each Prakaraṇa is headed with an introductory stanza in which the author acknowledges his allegiance to Prabhākara, his Guru. The work commences with the following introductory stanza :

“स्वाध्यायविधिवाक्यार्थविचारे प्रयतामहे ।
प्रभाकरगुरोर्दृष्टया मीमांसारम्भसिद्धये ॥

The work has been recently published in the Chaukāmbā Sanskrit Series, Benares.

¹³¹ Kauśāmbī was one of the great cities of Ancient India situated on the bank of the Jumna 30 miles above Prayāga. It was a flourishing city at the time of Saṅkara and is now reduced to an insignificant village called Kosam. According to Matsya Purāṇa, it was first made the capital of the descendants of the Great Pāṇḍava dynasty by king Vichakshu called Nēmichakra, the son of King Adhisīmākṣhina, and sixth in descent from Arjuna, the most famous of the five Pāṇḍava brothers, when his old capital Hastināpura was washed away by the depredations of the course of the Ganges.

in that city. ¹³² His parents were very old and belonged to a very respectable Brāhman family, and the poor boy was their only son. He suddenly met with his death at the prime of his youth, leaving his aged parents to bemoan his untimely loss. The sight of the miserable father and mother of the boy crying over the corpse of their beloved son created such an amount of pity in the heart of the most compassionate teacher that a strong and irresistible desire arose in his mind to seek a remedy to put an end to the suffering of these miserable parents. Then a voice was heard from above that it is perfectly useless that one should feel compassion for the sorrow of another if he was not able to remove the suffering.

¹³² Mādhava places this incident at a place called Mūkambā-Kshētra, and whether it is identical with Kauśāmbi or not, we are not in a position to say. The following is the description given in Mādhava's Śaṅkara Vijaya :

“वृषाकपायीवरयोः सपर्या वाचातिमौचारसयेति तन्वन् ।
मुनिप्रवीरो मुदितात्मकामो मूकाम्बिकायाः सदन् प्रतस्थे ॥
अके निधाय व्यसु मात्मजातं महाकुलौ हन्त मुहुः प्ररुच्य ।
तदेकपुत्रौ द्विजदम्पती स दृष्ट्वा दयाधीनतया शुशोच ॥
अपार मञ्च त्यथ शोक मस्मिन्नभूयतोच्चै रशरीतवाचा ।
जायेत संरक्षितु मक्षमस्य जनस्य दुःखाय परं दयेति ॥
आकर्ण्य वाणी मशरीरिणीं ता मसाविति व्याहरति स्म विज्ञः ।
जगत्त्रयीरक्षणदक्षिणस्य सत्यं तवैकस्य तु शोभते सा ॥
इतीरयत्येव ततो द्विजातेः सुतः सुखं सुप्त इवोदतिष्ठत् ।
समीपगैः सर्वजनीन मस्य चारित्र्य मालोक्य विसिस्मये च ॥”

Chitsukha, on the other hand, distinctly places this miraculous incident of the revival of the Brāhman boy at the city of Kauśāmbi, during the short stay of Śaṅkara at Bharadvājārama at Prayāga.

Śaṅkara thereupon exclaimed that God alone who is the Protector of all the worlds that can feel such compassion and be able to remove the suffering, and that if the Almighty Ruler of the Universe pleases even the dead will rise up alive and walk. Then the Brāhman boy suddenly arose from the bier as if he was merely sleeping on it, and the joy of the parents at this miraculous revival of their only son knew no bounds, and they could not sufficiently express their gratitude to Śaṅkara for this extremely disinterested act of his mercy in reviving their son. The news of the revival of the boy gladdened the hearts of all the people in the place and the whole city of Kauśāmbi was a scene of perfect bliss.

One day, early in the morning, while the great teacher Śaṅkara—just then an ascetic of only 16 years—was resting with his disciples on the bank of the holy river Trivēṇī under the cool shade of a big Tamāla tree, news was brought to him that the great Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, the champion of the *Karma-Mārga* and the destroyer of the Jainas, was about to commit himself to flames in a secluded part of Ruddhapura, probably one of the suburbs attached to the great city of Prayāga. In hot haste Śaṅkara hastened to the spot with a number of his disciples and found Bhaṭṭa-chārya, the great advocate of the Pūrva-Mimāṃsā school started by Jaimini, and found him calmly lying on a funeral pyre, made up of heaps of chaff (*Tushānala*) which was already ablaze, surrounded by a number of Brāhmaṇas who were solemnly engaged in chanting the Vēdic Mantras prescribed by the Śāstras for the great expiation ceremony (*Vaidika-Prāyaschitta*), which the great Bhaṭṭa was bent upon carrying out at any cost.

This is perhaps the most convenient place to speak at some length of the life and doings of this great historic

personage. He is believed by some modern scholars to be an Assamese or Bengali Brāhman, but according to Chitsukha's Brihat Śankara Vijaya, he is said to be a native of Southern India, probably of Kerala itself, the country which has given birth to Sankara, and his Mīmāṃsā-Vārtikas furnish conclusive proof of his connection with the land of Tamil. This enthusiastic and orthodox Brāhman is said to have travelled all over India in preaching the religion of the Karma-Mārga—the pure unadulterated religion of Sacrifices and Rituals of the Vēdas—and in converting to the religion of his forefathers many powerful potentates who had begun to embrace the new religion established by Vardhamāna Mahāvīra under the name of Jainism.

In the 8th century B. C., there arose a very distinguished reformer and preacher by name Pārśva or Pārśvanātha, who is now called one of the *Tīrthakas*. Being dissatisfied with the popular Vēdic religion, with its animal sacrifices and cumbrous rituals, with its strict observance of castes and orders, which was raising into importance under the name of Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā, one of the six Orthodox systems of Philosophy founded by Jaimini, which gave supreme importance to these sacrifices and rituals, this great reforming preacher collected certain groups of men and formed out of them a new order of monastic life of religious speculation called Ājivakas. Pārśvanātha having been born of an orthodox Brāhman family, such speculation was at first closely connected with the study of the Vēdas, and men who adopted this monastic life were mostly drawn from the Brāhmaṇa caste, who were the guardians of the Vēdic lore from the most ancient times. While they accepted the authority of the Vēdas and the necessity of the caste system, which were the two essential doctrines of the Vēdic religion

they agreed with the Buddhists in the matter of the five duties of laymen, 'Śrāvakas' who were in and of the world, and the ten duties of the ascetic monks, 'Yatis', who lived apart in monasteries: so that this new religion of the Ājivakas founded by Pārśvanātha was a happy blending of the two great religions, Brāhmanism and Buddhism. In the matter of philosophy these Ājivakas followed the Vaiśeṣhika system founded by Kaṇāda and they held the world to be eternal and made up of atoms. They believed in the existence of 24 Tīrthaṅkaras or Tīrthakas who included most of the Deities worshipped by Brāhmaṇas. Moksha or Liberation, according to them, consisted in freeing the soul by making it become divine like unto Tīrthaṅkaras; and Right Insight, Right knowledge, and Right Conduct, corresponding to the three-fold path of the Vēdāntins known as Bhakti-Yoga, Jñāna-Yoga and Karma-Yoga were the only three means to attain the same. In the observance of the last injunction, the Ājivaka monks were vowed never to tell lies; never to steal; never to be immoderate in thought, word or deed; never to desire too much; but above all, never to kill or injure any living thing.

The doctrine of "Ahimsā Paramo Dharmah", which had been adapted from the Vēdic injunction "Na himsyāt sarvā bhūtāni" by the great teacher Gautama Buddha, more than 1000 years before their time, as one of his central doctrines, was carried into its extremes by these Brāhman Ājivakas, who took a strict vow never to kill or injure any living creature. Thus, if a fire was kindled, there was an apprehension of insects falling into it; and, therefore, many an Ājivaka lived in darkness at night. Some of these Ājivakas were really so compassionate towards living beings, that they actually covered their faces with veils when

they stirred out to prevent insects falling into their mouths and so losing their life. The water they drank they first strained in hopes of removing all life. They swept the ground before them as they walked, so that their feet might not fall on any living thing. But the majority of the Ājivakas who were Kshatriyas and members belonging to other non-Brahman communities, who generally ate flesh, allowed themselves great liberties on these matters and this sacred injunction of the Ājivakas was observed by them more in its breach than in its observance; and they gradually became jealous of the Brāhmanas who strictly observed these injunctions. Though they nominally conformed themselves to the wholesome doctrines promulgated by Pārśvanātha, they acted no better than Lokāyatas in their actual life and began to hate the Brāhmanas. As a natural result, these low Ājivakas began to denounce, revile and hold the Vēdas themselves as unworthy of the consideration of wise men.

Amongst these Ājivakas, there arose in the 6th century B.C., a great man by name Vardhamāna who completely modified the doctrines of Pārśvanātha and founded a new system of religion called the '*Nirgranthi*' or '*Jaina*', which in many points reverted back to the corrupt form of Buddhism which then prevailed side by side with Brāhmanism, and from which it was for a long time considered an offshoot. His father named Siddhārtha is said to belong to a low class of Kshatriyas and a chieftain of the Kundagrāma, and his mother Trisālā was the sister of Kataka, a Brāhman who rose to the chieftainship of Vaiśālī, the chief town of the Lichchhavis at that time. Vardhamāna became proficient in the dialectics of logic and the art of spells, and at the age of 28, he set forth on his mission, formed a secret society of Śramaṇas (a new monastic order) from which the Brāh-

maṇas were rigorously excluded; and by his oratorical power and logical presentation of things, he became known as *Jina* 'The Conqueror' and his new teaching as *Jainism*, just as Gautama Śākyasimha is known as *Buddha* 'The Enlightened' and his teaching as *Buddhism*.

Vardhamāna whose peculiar views came directly into conflict with the Brahmanism of his day, denied in the first instance, the divine origin and the absolute authority of the Vēdas. He taught that the real superiority in men lay in character and not in obeying rules of caste; so much so, he invited all castes indiscriminately to enter his new community called the Nirgranthins or Jainas, who cast aside all social bonds and acted as they pleased. Vardhamāna proclaimed himself to be the greatest of the Tathāgatas and Tīrthakas; and by his favourable position as a great warrior and distinguished scholar belonging to the Kshatriya caste, he became known to the world as Mahāvira and a number of potentates and kings of his time were soon induced to adopt his religion and to bestow their patronage on his followers, who likewise became known as Jainas, Tathāgatas or Sugatas. As many of the Kings had already embraced Buddhism in some form or other, Mahāvira and his followers carefully refrained themselves from coming into conflict with the Buddhists, perhaps, because, unconsciously they were also undermining the teaching of the Brāhmanas.

There were as yet no Brāhmanas as opposed to Buddhists or Ājivakas. No separation had as yet taken place, and the greatest reformers at the time of Buddha and Pārśvanātha were reforming Brāhmanas. This is acknowledged in all Buddhist writings, and Buddha, though a Kshatriya by birth, is represented as a pupil of the Brāhmanas, and no slur is anywhere cast by Buddha on the Gods and Songs of

the Veda. "Buddha, according to his own canonical biographer", writes Max Muller in his 'History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature', "learned the Rig Veda and was a proficient in all the branches of the Brāhmanic lore. His pupils were many of them Brāhmanas, and no hostile feeling against the Brāhman finds utterance in the Buddhist Canon.....Buddhism in its original form was only a modification of Brāhmanism. It grew up slowly and imperceptibly, and its very founder could hardly have been aware of the final results of his doctrines."

The same remarks apply to Pārśvanātha and his followers known as Ājīvakas. Mahāvira forms a striking contrast to these two great reformers. He and his followers began to treat the Brāhmanas, their opponents, with marked disrespect. This great hero Mahāvira, though at first conceived by a Brāhman woman, is represented, in the sacred writings of the Jains, as having been removed from her womb and transferred to the womb of a Kshatriya woman, for "surely" as Śakko says, "such a thing as this has never happened in past, happens not in present, nor will happen in future time, that an Arhat, a Chakravartin, a Baladēva, or a Vasudēva, shall be born in a low-caste family, a servile family, a degraded family, a poor family, a mean family, a beggar's family, or a Brāhman's family; but, on the contrary, in all time, past, present, and to come, an Arhat, a Chakravartin, a Vasudēva, receives birth in a noble family, a honourable family, a royal family, a Kshatriya family, as in the family of Ikshvāku, or the Harivamśa, or some such family or pure descent" (Vide Kalpa Sūtra, p. 35.)

Now this is merely party insolence, intelligible in the 6th century B.C., when the Brāhmanas as a party were re-establishing their hierarchical sway. Nothing of the kind

is to be found in the canonical books of the Buddhists. Buddha had his opponents, and among them chiefly the Tirthakas; but so had all eminent sages of whom we read in the Brāhmanas. But Buddha had also his friends and followers, and they likewise were Brāhmanas and Rishis. Mahāvira's success, on the other hand, depended chiefly on the secret society he had formed and his one central idea was to put down, by hook or crook, the superiority of Brāhmanism which had come to be recognised by intelligent men belonging to all classes of Hindu society, ever since the rise of the two great schools of Indian Philosophy, the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā and the Uttara-Mīmāṃsā, founded by the two great sages¹³³ Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa, at about the beginn-

¹³³ Both Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa refer to the Yoga aphorisms of Patañjali; and they must, therefore, be either his contemporaries, or must have flourished subsequent to his time. But from the manner in which these two sages refer to Patañjali's doctrines and aphorisms, it is clear that they must have lived soon after Patañjali's time. Now from the way in which Patañjali refers to Pushyamitra's Horse-Sacrifice in his great work called the Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya, it is clear that he must have been an eye-witness of that solemn sacrifice, performed by that great monarch, the Founder of the Suāga Dynasty who reigned at Magadha between 1219 and 1159 B.C. (Vide Appendix I, pp. 69-71). It is further clear that Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa Vyāsa must have been not only contemporaries, but also were intimately connected with each other, as each of them quotes the opinion of the other in their respective Mīmāṃsā-Sūtras. Compare, for instance the following Sūtras from their respective works:

“परं जैमिनि मुख्यात्वात् ।”

—Bādarāyaṇa's Vēdānta Sūtras, IV-3-12

“बादरायणस्यानपेक्षत्वात् ।”

—Jaimini's Mīmāṃsā-Sūtras, I-1-5.

Both of them must have jointly worked together to bring about the

ing of the 11th century B. C.; and he had his followers, consequently, took no Brāhmaṇas among their disciples.

There were many great men among the Āryas who tried hard to revive the Ancient Vedic Religion (Vaidika Sanātana Dharma) of their fore-fathers, and to drive away Buddhism and Jainism from Āryāvarta; but undoubtedly Kumārila Bhaṭṭa was the greatest of them all. After going through the usual course of Vedic study in his Gurukula, as was the general custom among all the Brāhmaṇ boys, Kumara or Kumārila, as he was usually called, came out with all the Śāstric knowledge and Vedic culture that was possible to acquire at the best seats of Samskr̥it Learning throughout India. Though he was well versed in all the branches of Samskr̥it Literature, he took himself to a special and thorough study of the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā-Sūtras of Jaimini, and wrote a complete and exhaustive ¹⁸⁴ gloss to the famous comment-

revival of the Ancient Vedic Religion as taught by Śrī Kṛishṇa, some 2000 years before their time, in the interval between the last Dvāpara Yuga and the present Kali Yuga in his wonderful Divine Song called Śrī Bhagavad-Gītā, as embodied by Kṛishṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa in the middle of his Mahābhārata,—one of them giving prominence to Pravṛitti-Mārga, and the other to Nivṛitti-Mārga, as depicted therein. Either both of them studied under one and the same Guru, or one of them was a pupil of the other, though they differed from each other in certain minor matters. The tradition says that Jaimini was a pupil of Bādarāyaṇa Vyāsa, and it is quite consistent with the above mentioned facts.

¹⁸⁴ The Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā or 'The first inquiry into the meaning of the Vēdas' is chiefly hermeneutical in its nature. Śrī Mahābhāgavat of Kṛtikoṣī (Kratukoṣī) says: "It is called the First Inquiry, not only because it confines itself to the Karma-Kāṇḍa or the first portion of the Vēdas, but also more probably because it was desiderated before the Uttara-Mīmāṃsā (Second Inquiry) came into being. It may be said to be an orthodox re-action against the doctrines of philosophers purely

ary of Śābara Svāmin (Śābara-Bhāṣhya) on the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā-Sūtra, advocating the religion of the Karma-Mārga of the Vēdas at the sacrifice and neglect of the Jñāna-Mārga as taught in the Upanishads, the crowing glory of the Vēdas.

rational, for its object is to insist on the performance of Vedic rites. It is for this reason that it is also sometimes called the Karma-Mīmāṃsā on "Inquiry into religious works." The author of this work is Jaimini, and it consists of a body of aphorisms or Sūtras divided into twelve chapters or Adhyāyas. Each Adhyāya is subdivided into four Pādas or quarters, each of which consists of a number of Sūtras. It deals with varieties of duties, the order of their performance, indirect precepts, inferable changes, efficiency and co-ordinate effect. It is a school of ceremonial and interpretation, and the *summum bonum*, according to it, consists in literally carrying out all the Vedic injunctions. It has an elaborate commentary by Śābara Svāmin, called Śābara-Bhāṣhya. That this Bhāṣhya had existed prior to the Vēdānta Sūtra Bhāṣhya of Śrī Saṅkarāchārya, is apparent from the fact that Saṅkara himself refers to it in commenting upon the Bādarāyaṇa-Sūtra "एक आत्मनः शरीरे भावात् ।" (III-3-53) by

stating "इत एवाऽऽकृष्याऽऽचार्येण शबरस्वामिना प्रमाणलक्षणे वर्णितम् ।" But as this commentary was somewhat abstruse and difficult to be understood by ordinary scholars, Kumārila Bhaṭṭa wrote an exhaustive gloss on the said Śābara-Bhāṣhya by composing his famous Sloka-Vārtika, Tantra-Vārtika and Tup-Tikā, which taken together form a complete gloss on the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā. Sloka-Vārtika (श्लोकवार्तिकम्) is the name given to the gloss of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa on the First Pāda of the First Adhyāya of the Mīmāṃsā-Sāstra, and it is so called, because the full purport of the Text of Jaimini, and the Commentary of Śābara Svāmin, is explained and illustrated here in the form of verses or Slokas. Tantra-Vārtika (तन्त्रवार्तिकम्) is the name given to Kumārila's gloss on Śābarasvāmin's Bhāṣhya beginning with the Second Pāda of the First Adhyāya beginnind with the 3rd Adhyāya. It is so called, because

Kumārila Bhaṭṭa was not satisfied with his gloss. He was not able to check the growth of Jainism which was just then making a havoc of war against Brāhmanism under their great and veteran Leader Mahāvira. This enthusiastic Brāhman tried his best to understand the secret of his success, but he was quite unable to find out why people from all parts of India began to flock in numbers to this new

it is written in prose (*Tantra*). These two glosses or Vārtikas are very exhaustive, and form, as it were, a standard of interpretation for all the Śrutis and Smṛitis. The subjects of discussion are called Adhikaraṇas, and the perfectly logical and rational way in which Kumārila carries these discussions won such admiration of Max Muller, that he exclaims: "To me, these Mīmāṃsā discussions are extremely attractive, and for accuracy of reasoning they have no equal anywhere." The Mīmāṃsā-Darśana is also on this score named Nyāya-Lakṣhaṇa (the Science of Reasoning). Another name for Mīmāṃsā is Nyāya-Sahasrī, which means "Teachings of a thousand subjects." The method of reasoning applied being perfectly general, the Nyāyas (Rules) laid down in the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā are also accepted by other schools of Philosophy. Our Courts of Justice are likewise guided by the Nyāyas of Jaimini's Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā in the interpretation of the Smṛiti Texts. Henry Thomas Colebrooke, who was the first to handle the Samskr̥it language and literature on scientific principles, remarks on these disquisitions as follows:—"The disquisitions of the Mīmāṃsā bear, therefore, a certain resemblance to judicial questions and, in fact, the Hindu Law being blended with the religion of the people, some modes of reasoning are applicable and are applied to the other. The logic of the Mīmāṃsā is the logic of the Law, the rule of interpretation of civil and religious ordinances. Each case is examined and determined upon general principles, and from the cases decided the principles may be collected. A well-ordered arrangement of them would constitute the Philosophy of Law, and this is in truth what has been attempted in the Mīmāṃsā."

On the other hand, the gloss on the remaining portions of the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā Bhāṣya by Kumārila Bhaṭṭa is known as Tup-Tikā (टुपटीका); and as the name indicates it is merely a

religion taught by his founder. This young orthodox Brāhman knew full-well that ¹³⁵ Mahāvira admitted no pupils into the secrets of his society of Nirgranthins or Jainas, unless they were sworn to Jainism for their life, and that he specially hated the Brāhmanas and totally refused to admit them into the secrets of his doctrines, however well disposed they may really be towards his new religion.

We are, therefore, told by ¹³⁶ Chitsukha, that Kumārila put on the disguise of a Jaina and got himself enrolled as a

running commentary on Adhyāyas IV to XII of Sabara Svāmīn's Bhāṣya. Kumārila's Sloka-Vārtika has been published in the Chaukhāmbā Samskr̥it Series as No. 3, with the well-known Vyākhyā of Śrī Pārthasārathi Mīśra called Nyāya-Ratnākara. The Tantra-Vārtika is also published as No. 49 of the Chaukhāmbā Samskr̥it Series with the famous Tikā of Bhaṭṭa Somēśvara known as Nyāya-Sudhā. The Tup-Tikā of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa has also been published in the Benares Samskr̥it Series, edited by the Paṇḍits of the Benares Samskr̥it College under the superintendence of R. T. A. Griffith M. A., C. I. E., and G. Thibaut Ph. D.

¹³⁵ Mahāvira or Varadhamāna Jñātaputra, the Founder of the Nirgranthi or Jaina sect must have died in 527 B. C., in as much as the learned Jainas make use of an Era dating from the Nirvāṇa or death of this great teacher, which they uniformly place 470 years before the Mālava King Vikramārka, whose Era begins in 57 B. C. As Mahāvira is said to have died, according to Jaina Prabandhas, in his seventy-first year, he must have been born in 598 B. C. It is a great mistake to suppose that Mahāvira Vardhamāna Jñātaputra, was a contemporary of Gautama Buddha, the Founder of Buddhism who, according to our researches, flourished between 1862 and 1782 B. C. This mistake must have evidently arisen from the fact that Oriental scholars variously place Buddha's Nirvāṇa or death in 477 B. C. (Max Muller's date), 482 B. C. (Dr. Fleet's revised date), 487 B. C. (Dr. Fleet's former date), or 543 B. C. (the Ceylonese date.)

¹³⁶ Chitsukhāchārya's Bṛihat Saṅkara Vijaya gives the following account of the early life of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa:

disciple under Mahāvira. Thus under this great teacher Kumarila learnt all about Jaina religion and philosophy, and was even looked upon by his co-pupils with jealousy and

“मदीयः पूर्ववृत्तान्तः श्रोतव्य स्ते मयोच्यते ।
 इतः पूर्वं प्रवृत्ता स्ते जैना ब्राह्मणदूषकाः ॥
 महावीरमताक्रान्तो विरलो वैदिको ऽभवत् ।
 नास्तिक्य मीश्वरे वेदे धर्मे चा ऽऽसीन्नृणां तदा ॥
 महावीरं पुरस्कृत्य वर्धमानं स्वदेशिकम् ।
 समाविश्य गृहे राज्ञां तान् वशीकृत्य सौगताः ॥
 वेदो ऽप्रमाण मित्यादिमिथ्यालाप मचीकरन् ।
 ज्ञात्वाऽपि वैदिकं शास्त्रजालं सम्यग्गुरो मुखात् ॥
 निर्ग्रन्थिनो महातन्त्रान् महावीरमतानुगान् ।
 तान् जैना त्राऽशकं जेतुं विवादे सर्वथैव हि ॥
 विजिगीषु रहं जैना नुद्यतोऽभूव मादरात् ।
 तन्मतं न मया बुद्धं निषेध्यं वेददूषकम् ॥
 तत स्तेषां मतं बोद्धुं त एव शरणीकृताः ।
 शिष्यत्वेन न ते कंचित् पर्यगृह्णन् महीसुरम् ॥
 त दब्राह्मण मात्मानं नाटयन् जैनवेषतः ।
 तन्मतस्थापनोद्युक्तं महावीराभिधं जिनम् ॥
 वर्धमानं गुहं प्राप्य तदन्तेवासिभिः समम् ।
 पठन्ननुदिनं तत्र कतिचि द्वायना न्यहम् ॥
 तेषां सिद्धान्त मश्रौषं, वेदमार्गं मदूषयम् ।
 तद्देशिकेन सश्लाघ मभूवं चाऽभिनन्दितः ॥

hatred, because he had been treated by their Great Teacher himself, more favourably than others. For a time, all went

निष्णातश्चाऽभं जैनरहस्ये ष्वखिलेष्वपि ।
 एकदा स महावीरो ब्रह्मद्वेषी निरंकुशः ॥
 अतीवा ऽदूषय द्वेदा न्विप्रान् यज्ञांश्च देवतान् ।
 श्रुतिस्मृतिविरुद्धार्थबोधकं तद्विजल्पितम् ॥
 दुराकर्ण्यं समाकर्ण्यं विदीर्णमनसो मम ।
 अर्णो न्यपत दक्षणोऽथ स्थूलमुक्ताफलाकृति ॥
 ददृशु स्तत्र तच्छिष्या स्तदा सर्वत्र संस्थिताः ।
 अपृच्छन् किमिदं तेऽद्य निष्पतत्यम्बु लोचनात् ॥
 अवादिष महं तेभ्यः कपटेनेत्य मञ्जसा ।
 युक्ती राकर्ण्यं निर्णिकता भवद्देशिकनिर्मिताः ॥
 समुद्यन्निर्भरानन्दतुन्दिलावशचेतसः ।
 निःसस्रु रश्रुव्याजेन बहि रानन्दबिन्दवः ॥
 इत्थं जल्पत्यनल्पं मय्यग्रजं मां तु मेनिरे ।
 गुरवे चाऽपि वृत्तान्त मञ्जसैनं न्यवेदयन् ॥
 ततः साप्तपदीनं ते विससर्जुः पुरेव मे ।
 ब्राह्मणोऽहं मिति ज्ञात्वा मद्विधार्थं समुद्यताः ॥
 महावीरश्च तच्छिष्या विप्रेषु कृतमत्सराः ।
 विपक्षपाती बलवान् दूषयिष्यति नो मतम् ॥
 यथाकथंचि त्राश्रयोऽय मित्यामन्त्र्य परस्परम् ।
 एकदा मां सुविश्रब्धं चन्द्रिकायां सुखास्थितम् ॥
 गुरो रुत्तुंगसौधाग्रं नीत्वोपायेन केनचित् ।
 विश्राम्यतो गुरो रेव महावीरस्य शिष्यकाः ॥

on well ; but on a certain day, Mahāvira began so vehemently to repudiate the sanctity of the Vēdas and of the Vedic

परस्परं सल्लपन्तः क्रीडन्तश्च सुनिर्भरम् ।
 गुरोः सम्प्राप्य संकेतं मुत्क्षिपन्तः परस्परम् ॥
 हस्ते नोत्क्षिप्य मां चापि प्रहसन्तः पुनः पुनः ।
 एते कदर्यहतका महावीरमतानुगाः ॥
 गुरो स्तत्सौघशिखरात् सहसा मां न्यपातयत् ।
 परिभ्रान्तं स्तथा सौधात् पतन् स लुक्तवानहम् ॥
 यदि वेदाः प्रमाणं स्युर्जीविय मिति चेतसि ।
 यदीति संशयत्योक्ते गुरुद्रोहा तथा मम ॥
 पततस्तूच्चदेशा न्मे चक्षु रेकं परिक्षतम् ।
 तत्प्रदेशा द्विनिष्क्रम्या ऽक्षतगात्रः सपद्यहम् ॥
 महावीरे कृतद्वेषे स्तन्मतं सर्वतो भुवि ।
 व्यक्तिभिश्च तदुक्ताभि विवाद्य नृपसंसदि ॥
 जित्वा जैनान् विवादिषु जिनं चाऽपि विदूषयन् ।
 स्थापितश्च पुनः कर्ममार्गः स्थिरतरो मया ॥”

The account of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa's early life, as given above, is more or less strongly corroborated by all the Saṅkara Vijayas and by scattered passages from Kumārila's own works. Some of these Saṅkara Vijayas agree so closely with one another not only in substance but also in form, that they all seem to have been derived from one and the same source, and most probably from Chitsukha's work itself. For instance, many of the stanzas quoted herein are found practically in the same form in Chidvilāsa's Saṅkara Vijaya Vilāsa, and Sadānanda's Saṅkara Digvijaya Sāra. One thing is quite clear from a careful perusal of these various Saṅkara Vijayas, that the

Gods by ridiculing them, that Kumārila was mortally

later biographers have invariably confounded the Jains with the Bauddhas, by considering them for all practical purposes as one sect. Their description of Kumārila's early life is very vague ; and they do not mention the name of the Buddhist or Jaina teacher under whom Kumārila learnt the secrets of his religion and philosophy in disguise. But Chitsukha distinctly says that Kumārila's opponents were Mahāvira and his followers called the Jains, and that he directed his energies against the Jains alone who under their founder Mahāvira Vardhamāna, began to undermine the Vedic Brāhmanism in his day.

We find a wonderful corroboration of this account from quite an unexpected source. It is, indeed, evidence furnished by the opponents of Saṅkara's school of philosophy. We mean the Jaina Vijaya, one of the oldest works on the life of Jina or Mahāvira, by an orthodox Jain poet, who distinctly mentions Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and King Sudhanvan as contemporaries of his hero Mahāvira, and who considers these two personages as well as Saṅkara as his enemies, and refers to them in a contemptible manner. The particular passage in question which also throws light upon the date of these great historical personages is quoted at length in connection with the Age of Kālidāsa by the renowned Samskr̥it Scholar, Vidya Vāchaspati Paṇḍit Appā Śāstri of Kolhapur in Nos. 1 to 3 of his Samskr̥ita-Chandrikā (a monthly Samskr̥it Journal of high reputation), Vol. IX. There, in discussing the date of Kālidāsa,—the author of the three famous dramas, Mālavikāgnimitra, Vikramorvaṣī and Abhijñānaśakuntala,—whom he places in the 6th century B. C. ; as a contemporary of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and Saṅkarāchārya, our esteemed scholar incidentally discusses the date of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and Saṅkara, and quotes the verses referring to them from the Jina-Vijaya, which gives the years in the Yudhishṭhira Śaka, which is uniformly placed 468 years after the commencement of the Kali Yuga by the Jain and Buddhist writers.

Thus in describing the birth of Kumāra Bhaṭṭāchārya, the Jain Vijaya declares :

“ ऋषिर्वारं स्तथा पूर्णं मर्त्याक्षौ वाममेळनात् ।
 एकीकृत्य लभेतांकः क्रोधी स्यात् तत्र वत्सरः ॥

wounded at heart; so much so that he could not restrain himself from shedding tears. His brother-students, who were all non-Brahmans. observed this strange behaviour in

भट्टाचार्यकुमारस्य कर्मकाण्डैकवादिनः ।

ज्ञेयः प्रादुर्भव स्तस्मिन् वर्षे यौधिष्ठिरे शके ॥ ”

(Vide p. 8, Samskr̥ita-Chandrikā, under “महाकविः श्रीकालिदासः”) “We shall get the year Krodhin, if we calculate the figures Rishi (7) Vāra (7), Pūrṇa (0) and Martyaśha (2), in the reverse order. Be it known that it was in that year 2077 of the Yudhishthira Śaka that Kumāra Bhaṭṭāchārya, the special advocate of the Karma-kāṇḍa was born ”

It is clear from this that Kumārila was born in the year Krodhin of the year 2077 of the Yudhishthira Śaka (according to the Jains) corresponding to (2077+468) 2545 of the Kali Yuga or in other words in 557 B. C.

This exactly, corresponds to the date given to Kumārila Bhaṭṭa by Chitsukha, who says that he was older than Śaṅkara by 48 years. Referring to this point Paṇḍit Appā Sastri writes in the above journal as follows:—

“ततश्च ताम्रशासनाद्यनुसारेण, अवधारिते श्रीमता माचार्य-चरणानां समयो य्युधिष्ठिरस्य २६३१ तमे शाके तेषां भवतार इति फलति । एष एव च भट्टकुमारिलजन्मतो ऽष्टचत्वारिंशो वत्सरः । ततश्च युधिष्ठिरस्य २५८३ तमे शाके कुमारिलभट्टस्य प्रादुर्भाव इत्यायातम् । * * * एवं च युधिष्ठिर शकस्य सप्त-विंशतान्धाः कथं मपि नाऽर्वाचीनाः श्रीमन्त आदिशंकराचार्याः, श्रीमान् कुमारिलभट्टो वेति संसिद्धम् ॥ ”

N. B. It was only in answer to my query asking for the original authority from Jina Vijaya, for this proposition, that the above verses relating to the time of the birth of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa were written and sent to me by the late lamented Paṇḍit Appā Sastri, and so the above verses do not find a place in the valuable Samskr̥it Journal.

the new pupil, and cautiously bought it to the notice of their Great Teacher, who at once suspected Kumārila to be a

The fall (पराभवः) of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, both from the esteem of the Jainas with whom for sometimes he studied under their great teacher Mahāvira, and from the high terrace of his said master, appears to be a memorable event in the history of Ancient India; and the Jina Vijaya, regarding the said point, declares:—

“नन्दाः पूर्णं भूश्च नेत्रे मनुजानां च वामतः ।

मेलने वत्सरो घाता युधिष्ठिरशकस्य वै ॥

भट्टाचार्यकुमारस्य कर्मकाण्डस्य वादिनः ।

जातः पराभव स्तस्मिन् विज्ञेयो वत्सरे शुभे ॥ ”

(Vide Ibid. p. 3)

“It was the year Dhātṛi when 2109 years had elapsed in Yudhishthira Śaka, calculating the figures Nandas (9), Pūrṇa (0), Bhū (1) and Nētra (2) in the reverse order. It was in that *auspicious year* that Kumāra Bhaṭṭāchārya met with his fall.”

The poet being a Jain is glad to think of the discomfiture of Kumārila in the hands of the Great Jaina Teacher and his worthy followers, and remembers the year as an auspicious one in the history of the Jainas, as the epithet ‘शुभे’ indicates. So this incident must have happened in the year 2109 of the Yudhishthira Śaka according to the Jains, corresponding to 525 B. C. Kumārila must have been 32 years old at that time.

Referring to the date of Śaṅkarāchārya, the Jina Vijaya states:

“ऋषिर्वाणस्तथा भूमिर्मत्याक्षौ वाममेळनात् ।

एकत्वेन लभेतांस्ताम्राक्षस्तत्र वत्सरः ॥ ”

(Ibid. p. 6)

“When we calculate the figures Rishi (7), Bāṇa (5) Bhūmi (1) and Martyaśha (2), in the reverse order and obtain the total number of years 2157 in the Yudhishthira Śaka, we arrive at the year Tāmraśha (Raktāśhi) as the year of Śaṅkara's death ”

Brahman heretic in the disguise of a Jaina. Accordingly this pious teacher conspired with his other pupils, and resolved

It is plain from this, that Saṅkara died in the year Raktākṣhi, corresponding to the year 2157 of the Yudhishṭhira Saka (according to the Jains)—the year (2157+468) 2625 of the Kali Yuga corresponding to 477 B. C.—which is exactly the date given of Saṅkara's death in all the various Saṅkara Vijayas. We know that Saṅkara died in his 32nd year, and so he must have been born in the year 2593 of the Kali Yuga, 2631 of the Yudhishṭhira Saka (according to the Hindus), 2125 of the Yudhishṭhira Saka (according to the Jains), corresponding to 509 B. C.

Lastly referring to this extraordinary meeting of Saṅkara and Kumārila on his funeral pyre, the Jina Vijaya declares :

—(Vide Ibid., p. 6)

“पश्चात् पंचदशे वर्षे शंकरस्य गते सति ।

भट्टाचार्यकुमारस्य दर्शनं कृतवान् शिवः ॥”

“Thereupon, when 15 years had elapsed from his birth, Saṅkara met Bhaṭṭācārya for the first and the last time.”

It will be, thus seen, that Saṅkara met Kumārila in Ruddhapura near Prayāga in the act of self-immolation in his 16th year, that is about 493 B. C. in which year, therefore, Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, the great advocate of the Karma-Mīmāṃsā passed away from the world.

Kumārila Bhaṭṭa must have been therefore a contemporary of Mahāvīra Vardhamāna himself, the Founder of the Jaina religion and philosophy, as stated in the Jina Vijaya and in Chitsukha's Bṛihat Saṅkara Vijaya.

In conclusion, the Jina Vijaya refers to King Sudhanvan, as a contemporary of Kumārila and Saṅkara, and speaks of him, in unmistakable terms, as a wicked king and as a persecutor of the pious Jains. In fact it says :

“सुधन्वनामको राजा सोऽपि दुष्टस्तदा भुवि ।

जिनानां यने साधूनां कृतं कदनमद्भुतम् ॥”

(Vide Ibid., p. 6).

that instead of allowing him to go away in possession of all their secret of doctrines and the weak points of their philosophy and religion, and turn their own logic against themselves, they will be acting well if they do away with him altogether. One day, when they were all seated on the high terrace of their Teacher's grand palace, chitchatting and playing with one another in the bright moonlight, they received a hint from their venerable teacher and managed to throw him out of the terrace; and poor Kumārila, bewildered at this sudden turn, fell shouting “If the holy Vēdas are true revelations—they will save me from death.” He came to the ground quite unhurt, though one of his eyes got slightly injured, on account of its having come in contact with a hard substance. The biographers add “His eye was injured, because he had some doubt about the revelation of the Vēdas,” for he used the expression “If the holy Vēdas.” However, somehow or other, Kumārila managed to escape with his life from his Guru's place; and ever since that time, he became an uncompromising opponent and the bitterest enemy of the Jainas. He carried on a regular war with them—driving them from court to court with the help of many mighty potentates and kings such as Sudhanvan, King of Dvārakā in Saurashtra, whom he converted to the religion of the Vēdic-Karma-Mārga which he preached from one end of the country to the other.

Mādhava gives an interesting account of what Kumārila did in the court of king Sudhanvan, at the very commence-

‘Even that wicked king named Sudhanvan flourished at the same time. It was under his reign that the terrible persecution of the pious Jains took place.’

From this long quotation it will be clear that Kumārila's opponents were Jains and not Buddhists, and that he carried on a ruthless war of a controversy against the followers of Mahāvīra.

ment of his Biography (Sarga I. Verses 28 to 98), though incidentally we are told that the celebrated Bhaṭṭa had visited many other courts before arriving there. We cannot say that the account given by Mādhava has altogether no historical value. There cannot be any doubt after perusing the Tāmrapatraṇuśāsana issued by ¹³⁷ King Sudhanvan addressed to Śaṅkara Bhagavatpāda himself on the 15th day of the bright half of the month of Āśvina in the year 2663 of the Yudhishṭhira Śaka, corresponding to 478 B.C., and after duly considering the adverse account given in the Jina Vijaya, that the story of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa is mainly based on historical facts, though there is, undoubtedly, a good deal of exaggeration and even misrepresentation of facts with regard to some minor matters in many of the Śaṅkara Vijayas. Mādhava gives a somewhat extraordinary account of the birth and early life of Kumārila—and especially a remarkable anecdote of what happened in the court of King Sudhanvan, a descendant of Yudhishṭhira and King of Dvārakā (Saurāṣṭra) and that time, who had early embraced the Jainism of Mahāvira and who had given special encouragement to this new sect of Nirgranthi-Jainas, by bestowing upon them all the chief offices in his kingdom,—such as his chief priests and councillors. We would have certainly passed over the said account as somewhat incredible and sectarian, had it not been for the fact that it is substantially corroborated by Ānandagiri in his Prāchīna Śaṅkara Vijaya from which Mādhava and Sadānanda appear to have taken the account of Kumārila's life, word by word, and even verse by verse, without any material alterations either in the diction or in

¹³⁷ The full text of King Sudhanvan's Copper Plate Grant has been published by His Holiness the late Śrī Śaṅkarāchārya of the Dvārakā Maṭha at p. 29 of his "Vimarśa."

the style, even at the risk of subjecting themselves to the charge of plagiarism ¹³⁸ and repetition.

In the very first Sarga of his work, Ānandagiri begins with an account of King Sudhanvan and Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, whom he respectively considers to be an incarnation of Indra the King of the Gods, and Subrahmaṇya the Commander-in-chief of their forces; and as the work is still in manuscripts, we give its full text below, only so far as the account of these two personages are concerned, with a view to enable our readers to compare the same with the respective accounts given by both Mādhava and Sadānanda in the very first chapter of their respective Śaṅkara Vijayas—Śrīmat Śaṅkara Digvijaya and Śrī Śaṅkara Digvijaya Sāra—published each with a commentary of Dhanapati Śūri in the Devanāgarī character. Ānandagiri says:—

अथेन्द्रो नृपति भूत्वा प्रजा धर्मेण पालयन् ।

सुधन्वनाम्ना प्रख्यातः सौराष्ट्रेष्वभवत् सुधीः ॥

¹³⁸ A comparison of the very first Sarga of our so-called Mādhavāchārya's (Śrī Vidyāraṇya's) Śaṅkara Vijaya with the first Sarga of Sadānanda's Śaṅkara Vijaya, clearly shows that more than half the number of stanzas contained in the one are found in fact, without the slightest change, in the other; while the major portion of the rest found in the other. For instance, compare the stanzas 1, 28, 30 to 34, 40, 41, 43, 45, 48, 49, 53 to 56, 58 to 70, and 72 of the first Sarga of Mādhava's Śaṅkara Vijaya with stanzas 4, 5, 7 to 10, 12, 14, 19 to 21, 25 to 26 of the first Sarga of Sadānanda's Digvijaya Sāra. In fact the number of stanzas that are common to both the works are so many that it will be easier to point out which stanzas are exceptionally the property of each of these authors. Of course, the introductory portion is different in each.

One or other of these authors must clearly be guilty of plagiarism; but it might be said that the famous Vidyāraṇya Mādhavāchārya could

कृत्वा द्वारवतीं स्वस्य राजधानीं स भूपतिः ।
 दिवं चकार पृथिवीं स्वपुरी ममरावतीम् ॥
 स बाल्य एव जैनानां समयं समुपाश्रितः ।
 निरादरो ऽभू चक्षुषु वेदेषु विबुधेषु च ॥
 सर्वज्ञो ऽव्यसतां शास्त्रे कृत्रिमश्रद्धयाऽन्वितः ।
 प्रतीक्षमाणः क्रौञ्चारिं मेलयामास सौगतान् ॥

not be guilty of such a charge and that the poor Sadānanda, of unknown fame, must have copied his work from Mādhavāchārya's. But a further comparison of these stanzas with those found in the first Sarga of Ānandagiri's Prāchīna Śaṅkara Vijaya—and especially with the stanzas quoted above from the said work, which is admitted by both Mādhava and Sadānanda as the main source of their respective works, and which they evidently copy in profusion, clearly and unmistakably shows that both these writers—Mādhava and Sadānanda—are equally guilty of plagiarism. It must, however, be said in fairness to Sadānanda that he copies the stanzas from Prāchīna Śaṅkara Vijaya without much modification, but Mādhava here and there makes slight verbal modifications and additions to set off his own poetical talents; and is, for that very reason,—as the celebrated poet Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa says in his famous introduction to the Harsha Charita—

“अन्यवर्णपरावृत्या बन्धचित्तं निगूहनैः ।
 अनाख्यातः सतां मध्ये कविश्चौरो विभाव्यते ॥” —

more easily found out as a plagiarist—as a *Chora kavi*. Compare also my analysis of Canto II of Mādhava's Śaṅkara Vijaya given at pages 35 and 36 of my 'Successors of Śaṅkarāchārya'. Of course, all references to Kāñchī Maṭha contained in the Prāchīna Śaṅkara Vijaya and Vyāsachaliya have been carefully omitted by these authors, and opportunities have been taken to substitute the name of the Sṛīngēri Maṭh wherever it was possible.

It is better, once for all, to consider at this place if Mādhava's Śaṅkara Vijaya had been really written by the well-known Śrī Vidyāraṇya Mādhavāchārya. What evidence is there to show that

ततः स तारकाराति रजनिष्ट महीतले ।
 भट्टपदाभिधा यस्य भूषा दिवसुदृशा मभूत् ॥

this Śaṅkara Vijaya was actually written by that famous and prolific writer of more than one hundred works on the two Mīmāṃsās? In the body of the work itself there is nothing to show that this Śaṅkara Vijaya was written by Vidyāraṇya Mādhavāchārya. The work was first published with a commentary called 'Diṇḍima' under the name of Mādhavāchārya on the title-page in Nāgarī character in Ganapat Krishṇāji Press at Bombay in 1863, and in Telugu character in the Book Depot Press at Bangalore in 1864. The publishers of both these editions had not then the boldness to ascribe the work to Vidyāraṇya. Finding that the book passed off without much objection for one of the works of Mādhavāchārya, it was published a second time in the Ānandārama Series with a number of omissions and additions in the body of the work in 1891 at Poona with two commentaries—*Advaita-Sāmrājya-Lakshmi* and *Diṇḍima*—as the work of Vidyāraṇya himself, and was described in the title-page as “श्रीविद्यारण्यविरचितः श्रीमच्छंकरदिग्विजयः.” Nowhere in the body of the work itself is the name of Mādhavāchārya or Vidyāraṇya to be found as the author of the work. In the last verse of each of the sixteen *Sargas* of the said composition, the author simply calls himself as 'Mādhava' without any honorific prefix or suffix, and the work itself is called under the more modest name of “Samkshēpa-Śaṅkarajaya”, implying thereby that the work was merely an abridgment from a larger work or works that existed prior to the time of the author. Compare, for instance, the last verse of the first and the last *Sargas*, which run respectively as follows:—

“इति श्रीमाधवीये त-दुपोद्धातकथापरः ।
 संक्षेपशंकरजये सर्गो ऽयं प्रथमो ऽभवत् ॥”

... ..

इति श्रीमाधवीये त-च्छारदापीठवासगः ।
 संक्षेपशंकरजये सर्गः पूर्णोऽपि षोडशः ॥

स्फुटयन् वेदतात्पर्यं मभा ज्जैमिनिसूत्रितम् ।
 सहस्रांशु रिवाऽनूह-व्यञ्जितं भासय ज्जगत् ॥
 राज्ञः सुधन्वनः प्राप नगरीं स जयन् दिशः ।
 प्रत्युद्गम्य क्षितीन्द्रोऽ विधिव त्तमपूजयत् ॥
 सोऽभिनन्द्याऽऽशिषा भूप मासीनं काञ्चनासने ।
 जगाद कोकिलव्याजाद् राजानं पण्डिताग्रणीः ॥
 “मलिनै र्वे न्न संग स्ते नीचैः काककुलैः पिक ।
 श्रुतिदूषकनिर्हार्दैः श्लाघनीय स्तदा भवेः ॥”

Referring to this Saṅkara Vijaya, the late Paṇḍit N. Bhāṣya-
 chārya in his 'Age of Śrī Saṅkarāchārya' (p. 10), says :—

“This work is said to have been written by Mādhavāchārya. It cannot be the famous Mādhavāchārya; for it is usual for him to give out, at the beginning or end of every one of his works, the name of his *Guru* and his *geneology*, or some other description regarding himself. Such is not the case with the present writer; and further there is a great difference between the two as regards the style. The writer of this work must evidently be some modern author of that name; and he must, we think, have belonged to the Śrīṅgerī Maṭh from the fact that he gives undue prominence to that Maṭh”

We know from very reliable sources that this Mādhaviya Saṅkara Vijaya was compiled by a well-known Samskrit scholar who passed away from this world just about eight years ago, under the pseudonym of “Mādhava”—a synonym for ‘Nārāyaṇa’—specially to extol the greatness of the Śrīṅgerī Maṭh, whose authority had been seriously questioned by the Kumbhakoṇam Maṭh, the Āchāryas of the latter Maṭh claiming exclusive privilege of being entitled to the title of ‘Jagadgurus’ for the whole of India, as being the direct Successors of Śrī Saṅkara Bhagavatpāda’s own Maṭh, established by him at Kānchi, the greatness of which had been unnecessarily extolled by Rājachūḍāmaṇi Dīkshita, Vallisāhaya Kavi and Vēṅkaṭarāma Sarman in their respective works, *Saṅkarābhudaya*, *Āchārya Digvijaya* and *Saṅkara Bhagavatpāda Charitra*.

निर्ग्रन्थिनो निशम्यैनां वाचं तात्पर्यगभिताम् ।
 नितरां चरणस्पृष्टा भुमंगा इव चुक्रुधुः ॥
 छित्वा युक्तिकुठारेण जैनसिद्धान्तशास्त्रिनम् ।
 स तद्ग्रन्थेन्धनै र्वचीर्णैः क्रोधज्वाला मवर्धयत् ॥
 उपन्यस्यत्सु साक्षेपं खण्डयत्सु परस्परम् ।
 तेषूदतिष्ठ त्रिविधो भिन्दन्निव रसातलम् ॥
 अधः पेतु र्वुधेन्द्रेण क्षताः पक्षेषु तत्क्षणम् ।
 व्यूढकर्कशतर्केण तथागतधराधराः ॥

About fifty years ago, in this very city of Madras, as many may still remember, a fierce controversy raged between the adherents of the Kumbhakoṇam Maṭh on the one hand, and those of the Śrīṅgerī Maṭh headed by Bangalore Siddhānti Subrahmaṇya Śāstri and the two able brothers — Kumbhakoṇam Śrīnivāsa Śāstri and Kumbhakoṇam Nārāyaṇa Śāstri—sons of Rāmasvāmi Śāstri, a *protege* of the Śrīṅgerī Maṭh, on the other. We have very strong reasons to believe that this *Saṅkara Digvijaya* ascribed to Mādhava, the *Saṅkara Vijaya Vilāsa* ascribed to Chidvilāsa, and the *Saṅkara Digvijaya Sāra*, ascribed to Sadānanda, had all been brought into existence by one or other of these three scholars, about that period, in answer to the Saṅkara Vijayas ascribed to Rājachūḍāmaṇi Dīkshita and Vallisāhaya Kavi.

Though the author of this Saṅkara Vijaya in question allowed his composition to pass off for that of the famous Mādhavāchārya, he had been very careful,—as he himself had personally told us—to leave unmistakable marks of his individuality and identity sufficiently preserved in the work itself. Though in the very first stanza of this work, the author wants us to believe that he is the famous Mādhavāchārya, the disciple of Vidyātīrtha, the Paramaguru of Vidyāraṇya, by the expression “Śrīvidyātīrthā-rūpīṇam”, he is cautious enough to suggest his own meaning of the expression in the commentary, really written by himself, but ascribed to one Dhanapati Śāstri—an imaginary name. The first stanza, as a matter of fact runs as follows:

ततः प्रक्षीणदर्पेषु जैनेषु वसुधाविपम् ।
बोधयन् बहुधा वेद-वचांसि प्रशशंस स्पः ॥
बभाषे ऽथ धराधीशो विद्यायत्तौ जयाजयौ ।
यः पतित्वा गिरेः शृंगा दव्यय स्तन्मतं ध्रुवम् ॥

निर्गन्धिन रेतदाकर्ण्य परस्पर मलोकयन् ।
द्विजाग्रच स्तु स्मरन् वेदा नाहरोह गिरेः शिरः ॥

“यदि वेदाः प्रमाणं स्युर्भूयात् का चिन्न मे क्षतिः ।”
इत्युक्त्वा न्यपत तस्माद् गिरेः शृंगाद् द्विजोत्तमः ॥

“प्रणम्य परमात्मानं श्रीविद्यातीर्थरूपिणम् ।
प्राचीनशंकरजये सारः संगृह्यते मया ॥”

The commentator after explaining the apparent meaning of 'Vidyā-tīrtha' as applied to the so-called Parama Guru of Mādhavāchārya, goes on to explain the author's own real meaning by saying:

“यद्वा, श्रीविद्यातीर्थरूपिणं, तार्किकादिकल्पितैः कुतर्कैर्मलिनीकृतायाः विद्यायाः तन्मलापकरणेन शोधकत्वात् विद्यातीर्थः, श्रिया “ब्रह्मविद्या” तिमकया युक्तः श्रीविद्यातीर्थः ।”

By this, he clearly wants us to understand the expression 'Vidyātīrtha', not as referring to the Paramāchārya of Sri Vidyāranya, but as referring to the author's own revered brother and teacher, the great advocate of Hinduism and the editor of that bilingual monthly journal “*Brahma Vidya*” which continued to be published in Sanskrit and Tamil, until the very last days of his death.

In the 2nd stanza, which is advisedly omitted in the printed editions but is preserved in the manuscript copy written by the author himself and placed under the name of Śaṅkara Vijaya Sāra in the Adyar Library (Vide, General No. 1784, Shelf No. XX-1, 51 of the Adyar Library)—

अपि लोकगुरुः शैला तूलपिण्ड इवाऽपतत् ।
श्रुति रात्मशरण्यानां व्यसनं नोच्छिनत्ति किम् ॥
श्रुत्वा तदद्भुतं कर्म द्विजा दिग्भ्यः समाययुः ।
घनघोष मिवा ऽऽकर्ण्य निकुञ्जेभ्यः शिखावलाः ॥

“व्यासाचलप्रमुखपूर्वकपण्डितक्षमा-
भूत्संभृतोच्चतरकाव्यतरोः सुरीतेः ।
विद्वन्मधुव्रतसुखोरुरसानि सर्वा
प्यादातु मर्थकुसुमा न्यह मक्षमोऽस्मि ॥ २ ॥”

the author plainly desires to acknowledge that he was only making an abstract from writers like Vyāsachala Paṇḍita etc., of old; but in the printed editions “Vyāsachala” which is found in stanza 17—

“नेता यत्रोल्लसति भगवत्पादसंज्ञो महेशः,
शान्ति यत्र प्रकचति रसः शेषवा नुज्वलाद्यैः ।
यत्राऽविद्याक्षति रपि फलं, तस्य काव्यस्य कर्ता
धन्यो व्यासाचलकविवरः, तत्कृतिज्ञाश्च धन्याः ॥”

—is attempted to be identified with the author Mādhava himself, thereby suggesting that Vyāsachala was the name of no author of a separate work on the Life of Śaṅkara, as has been plainly stated by Ātmabodhendra in his commentary on Jagadguru Ratnamāla. The stanza was evidently intended by the author to praise the greatness of the poet Vyāsachala and his work known as Vyāsachaliya Śaṅkara Vijaya; but the admission of the existence of such a work which really pointed to the advocates of the Śrīngēri Maṭh—at whose instance our author was obliged to compile this poem;—and so the author by commenting “व्यासाचलकविवरः” as meaning “व्यास इव अचलः स्थिरश्चासौ कविश्रेष्ठ इवेति व्यासाचलकविवरो माधवः कृतकृत्यः” makes it as an attribute of 'Mādhava' himself. If this explanation be accepted, the author will undoubtedly be guilty of self-praise. To be consistent with this explanation, the 3rd stanza

दृष्ट्वा त मक्षतं राजा श्रद्धां श्रुतिषु सन्दधे ।
निनिन्द बहुधा ऽऽत्मानं खलसंसर्गदूषितम् ॥
सौगता स्त्वब्रुवन् नेदं प्रमाणं मतनिर्णये ।
मणिमन्त्रौषधै रेवं देहरक्षा भवे दिति ॥

in the said manuscript copy is omitted in the printed editions. The manuscript copy reads :

“यत्नाद्यदल्पधिषणासृणिनाग्रहीक्षं
शक्यं तदत्र सरसं सकलं गृहीत्वा ।
कश्चिन्महेश्वरगुरुस्तुतिभिन्नमोहः
संक्षेपशंकरजयस्रज मातनोमि ॥ ३ ॥”

For the same reason, the following stanza (st. 7) which appears before the stanza beginning with “पयोब्धिविवरी” etc. is also omitted in the printed editions :

“तत्तादृशोत्तमकवित्वविदां कवित्वं
नातिप्रशंसति गुरुं किमु मामकीनम् ।
वैयर्थ्यं मित्थं मुभयत्र समेऽत्र शुद्धयौ
बुद्धेः प्रवर्तयति बुद्धयधिकाः क्षमध्वम् ॥ ७ ॥”

Further, the first and the seventeenth stanzas themselves clearly show that the author though undoubtedly possessed of a master mind—which was able to compose more than 100 works before his eighteenth year—had not sufficient time given to him to write the whole of this poem himself, and that he had to embody all the essential stanzas found in the Prachina Saṅkara Vijaya of Ānandagiri, and Saṅkara Vijaya Kāvya of Vyasāchala, in this, his hastily prepared work; so that he—or rather the advocates of the Śrīngēri Maṭh—might at once produce this work before the public as Mādhavāchārya's, in answer to the numerous works that were produced by the advocates of the Kumbhakōṇam Maṭh.

It is noteworthy that even the so-called commentator Dhanapati Śāri simply calls the author as Mādhava, and nowhere, throughout his

दुर्विधै रन्यथा नीते प्रत्यक्षेऽर्थेऽपि पार्थिवः ।
सन्धा मुग्रतरां तत्र व्यधात् क्रोधसमन्वितः ॥
पृच्छामि भवतः किञ्चिद्वक्तुं न प्रभवन्ति ये ।
यन्त्रोपलेषु सर्वांस्तान् घातयिष्याम्यसंशयम् ॥

commentary does he identify this Mādhava with the famous Mādhavāchārya or Vidyāranya, whose commentaries on the Vedas and Upanishads themselves are sufficient to fill up the shelves of a big library. It is clear from the following stanza (st. 7) in the printed edition :

“धन्यमन्यविवेकशून्यसुजननमन्याब्धिकन्यानटी-
नृत्योन्मत्तनराधमाधमकथासमर्ददुष्कर्दमैः ।
दिग्धां मे गिर मद्य शंकरगुरुक्रीडासमुद्यद्यशः
पारावारसमुच्चलज्जलझरैः संक्षालयामि स्फुटम् ॥”

what sort of life the author was leading in his early years, and how he yearned to atone for his previous career as the writer of popular plays at the dictate of persons of vulgar taste, sullied by ‘bazaar dramas of ephemeral evenings’; and how he had taken an active part even in enacting such plays. It is also clear from stanza 8—

“वन्द्यासूनखरीविषाणसदृशक्षुद्रक्षितीन्द्रक्षमा-
शौर्यौदार्यदयादिवर्णनकलादुर्वासनावासिताम् ।
मद्वाणी मधिवासयामि यमिन स्त्रैलोक्यरंगस्थली-
नृत्यत्कीर्तिनटीपटोरपटलीचूर्णैर्विकीर्णैः क्षितौ ॥”

what a master of the dramatic art the author was, and how easily he drew his figures from Dramaturgy.

Nowhere do we learn that Śrī Vidyāranya Mādhavāchārya was ever an actor or a playwright. In the following stanza (st. 9) :

“पीयूषद्युतिखण्डमण्डनकृपारूपान्तरश्रीगुरु-
प्रेमस्थेमसमर्हणार्हमधुरज्याहारसूनोत्करः ।

इति संचित्य गोत्रेशो घट माशीविषान्वितम् ।
 आनीयाऽत्र किं मस्तीति पप्रच्छ द्विजसौगतान् ॥
 वक्ष्यामहे वयं भूप इवःप्रभातेऽस्य निर्णयम् ।
 इति प्रसाद्य राजानं जग्मुर्भूसुरसौगताः ॥

प्रौढोऽयं नवकालिदासकवितासन्तानसन्तानको
 दद्या दद्य समुद्यतः सुमनसा मामोदपारम्परीम् ॥ ”

the author calls himself “Nava Kālidāsa”—a new incarnation of Kālidāsa, the great Dramatist,—and such an epithet never appears to have been applied to Śrī Vidyāranya, who may be perhaps called “Nava Saṅkara”—an incarnation of Adī Saṅkarācārya himself. The stanza further shows how fully conscious, the real author was, of his great poetical talents and how confident he was of satisfying the Paṇḍits of his time. It also shows that he was the author of a number of poetical works—chiefly dramas.

The next stanza (1-10) :

“सामोदै रनुमोदिता मृगमदै रानन्दिताचन्दनै
 मन्दारै रभिनन्दिता प्रियगिरा काश्मीरजैः स्मेरिता ।
 वा गेषा नवकालिदासविदुषो दोषोज्जिता दुष्कवि-
 व्रातै निष्करुणै क्रियेत विकृता धेनु स्तुरुष्कै रिव ॥ ”

shows that our author obtained the titles of ‘Paṇḍita Sudarśana’ and ‘Bhaṭṭaśrī’ ‘Bālasarasvatī’ at Benares, Bengal and Kāśmīr and that his work was composed when the “Cow Question” was engaging the serious attention of the inhabitants of the city of Madras. The commentator, who is really the author himself, after explaining the ordinary meaning of the stanza, goes on to explain the inner meaning contained in the following terms :

“तथैवभूता सर्वदोषविनिर्मुक्ता नवीनकालिदासस्य विदुषो
 माधवस्यैषा वागू दुष्टानां कवीनां समुदायै रत एव निष्करुणै
 विकृता विकार मन्यथाभावं प्राप्ता क्रियेतेत्यर्थः । सामोदै रिति,

पद्या इव तप स्तेपुः कण्ठद्वयसपाथसि ।
 भास्करं प्रति भूदेवाः सोऽपि प्रादुरभू ततः ॥
 सन्दिश्य वचनीयांश मादित्ये ऽन्तर्हिते द्विजाः ।
 भट्टाचार्यं पुरस्कृत्य समाजम् नृपान्तिकम् ॥

गुरुषुपक्षे, आसमन्ता दानन्दसहितैः सद्भि रिति यावत् ।.....
 मृगमदैः मांसभक्षकब्राह्मणै रिति यावत् ।पक्षे ऽचन्दनै रिति,
 अकारप्रश्लेषः..... ऐहिकाद्यखिलेष्टविषयविमुखा स्तैरिति यावत् ।
 आनन्दिता अभिपूजितेत्यर्थः ।.....पक्षे मन्देभ्योऽपि.....अं...
 विष्णुं रान्त्यात्मत्वेन ददातीति मन्दारैः.....काश्मीरजैः.....
 काश्मीरदेशोद्भूतै विद्वद्भिः प्रियगिरा.....आनन्दिता अभि-
 नन्दिता.....स्मेरिता जनितानन्देत्यर्थः । ”

It is clear from this that the author Mādhava—only a pseudonym for Nārāyaṇa—obtained three titles (1) *Paṇḍita Sudarśana* from the hands of the Paṇḍits of Benares (Avimukta-Kṣhātra), (2) “*Bhaṭṭaśrī*” from the Paṇḍits of Bengal—the flesh-eating Brāhmaṇas of Calcutta,—and (3) “*Bālasarasvatī*” from the Paṇḍits of Kāśmīr; and if the commentator was not the author himself, we will not be in a position to get out this inner meaning from the above stanza.

The following two stanzas (15 and 17) :

“क्वेदं शंकरसद्गुरोः सुचरितं? क्वाऽहं वराकी? कथं
 निर्वन्धनामि! चिराजितं मम यशः किं मज्जयस्यम्बुधौ?
 इत्युक्त्वा चपलां पलायितवतीं वाचं नियुक्ते बलात्
 प्रत्याहृत्य गुणस्तुतौ कविगणः, चित्रं गुरो गौरवम् ॥
 रुक्मकाक्षरवाङ्निघण्टुशरणै रौगादिकप्रत्यय-
 प्राये हन्त! यङन्तदन्तुरतरै दुर्बोधदूरान्वयैः ।
 धीराणां कवितावतां कतिपयैः कण्ठेन कृष्टैः पदैः,
 हाहा! स्या द्रशगा किरातवितते रेणीव वाणी मम ॥ ”

ज्ञात्वा गूढं प्रधानेभ्यः सौगताः कलशस्थितम् ।
 निर्ग्रन्थिनोऽपि संहृष्टाः सभां प्रापु महीपतेः ॥
 जैनास्तु ज्ञातवृत्तान्ता भुजंगोऽस्तीत्यवादिषु ।
 भोगीशभोगशयनो भगवानिति भूसुरः ॥

show that the author was with great difficulty persuaded by his elders—probably by his own father and elder brother to associate himself with this plagiarism and fabrication, and that he consented to compose this nefarious work much against his own will and conscience. The first of these stanzas clearly indicates how unwilling the author was to undertake this work and how he was forced by his elder brother—probably by his father also who was getting a decent honorarium every month from the Śrīgēri Maṭh—to set his hand to this reprehensible and discreditable undertaking. The second stanza shows how unwilling the author was to copy out from the works of other poets, whom he considered to be far inferior to himself.

These references are quite sufficient, we think, to justify any critic to come to the conclusion that this Śaṅkara Vijaya, ascribed to Mādhava, could not be the composition of the famous Vidyāraṇya Mādhavācārya and the pseudonym might after all be a mere synonym for the author's own real name. Further, it is clear from the work itself that the author—who was really bent upon making his poem amusing and instructive—makes Śaṅkara, without any scruples whatsoever, a contemporary of Nīlakaṇṭha, Haradaṭṭa, Bhaṭṭabhāskara, Abhinavagupta, Murāri Miśra, Udayanācārya and Dharmagupta. The great teacher is also said to have met Bāṇa, Daṇḍin, Mayūra and Śrīharsha, the author of the Khaṇḍana Khaṇḍakhādyā, Naishadhiyācharita, and other works. We know from reliable sources that these several authors lived in different periods between the first and the thirteenth centuries A.D., and these could never have all been contemporaries of the great Śaṅkara, who lived only for 32 years on this earth. The late Pāṇḍit N. Bhāṣhyācārya has given his reasons for showing that all these persons mentioned by Mādhava in his poem, could not be contemporaries of Śaṅkarācārya, and we would simply refer our readers to pages 9 and 10 of his "Age of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya". The

श्रुत्वा भूसुरवाक्यं त द्रुदं पृथिवीपतेः ।
 कासारशोषणम्लानसारसश्रिय माददे ॥
 अथ प्रोवाच दिव्या वाक् सम्राज मशरीरिणी ।
 नुदन्ती संशयं तस्य सर्वेषा मपि शृण्वताम् ॥
 सत्य मेव महाराज! ब्राह्मणो य दभाषत ।
 मा कृथाः संशयं तत्र, भव सत्यप्रतिश्रवः ॥
 श्रुत्वा शरीरिणीं वाणीं ददर्श वसुधाधिपः ।
 मूर्ति मधुरिपोः कुम्भे सुधा मिव सुधाधिपः ॥
 निरस्ताखिलसन्देहो विन्यस्तेतरदर्शनात् ।
 व्यधा दाज्ञां ततो राजा वधाय श्रुतिविद्विषाम् ॥
 ततो भगवत स्तस्य विग्रहं परमाद्भुतम् ।
 त्रिलोकसुन्दराख्येन प्रतिष्ठा मकरोत् पुरि ॥
 स्कन्दानुसारिणा राज्ञा जैना धर्मद्विषो हताः ।
 योगीन्द्रेणैव योगघ्ना विघ्ना स्तत्त्वावलम्बिता ॥
 हतेषु तेषु दुष्टेषु भूसुरः परितो बभौ ।
 वर्णाश्रमसमाचारं स्थापयन् भुवि वैदिकम् ॥
 कुमारिलमृगेंद्रेण हतेषु जिनहस्तिषु ।
 निष्प्रत्यूह मवर्धन्त श्रुतिशाखाः समन्ततः ॥”

author in his great enthusiasm to write something of these poets and writers makes them all contemporaries of Śaṅkara on the model of Bhoja Prabandha. To attribute such inconsistencies and anachronisms to Śrī Vidyāraṇya Mādhavācārya would be simply monstrous and blasphemous.

It will be unnecessary for us to give here a full translation of the above passage from *Prāchīna Saṅkara Vijaya*; and the following short summary of the corresponding passage from *Mādhava's Saṅkara Digvijaya* as given by Mr. C. N. Krishnaswami Aiyar in his "Life and Times of Śrī Saṅkarācharya" will be sufficient to give an idea of the passage to our readers:—

"He (Kumārila Bhaṭṭa) somehow escaped with his life, and from that moment, became the most uncompromising opponent of the Jain faith and made in his mission to carry on a ruthless war of controversy against its followers. We have, only the account of what he did at the Court of King Sudhanvan, though incidentally we are told that he had invsited many other courts before arriving there. Here ensued a mighty controversy between the Jain teachers at the King's Court (the King was also a Jain) and Bhatta; the uproar and din caused by which is said to have shook the very heavens! Bhatta exposed their foibles and fallacies with relentless logic, shattered all their strongholds and vanquished them everywhere. Then he explained to the King his chief tenets—that the *Vedas* were true and repeated verbally even as they are and that they, therefore formed the best proof of their own authority as well as the touchstone of the authority of the *Smritis*, *Puranas* and other Scriptural books. स्वतःप्रमाणं, परतः प्रमाणम् । He held that the earlier part of the *Vedas* relating to the sacrifices was alone capable of salvaging men so that the really religious part of life according to him was to perform the rites enjoined in the *Karma Kanda* of the *Veda*. But the King's turn for abstract reason was apparently only of indifferent excellence, and so he bluntly said:—"In matters of dialectics success

depends on the amount of ones knowledge and the strength of ones polemical power; and I therefore declare that I shall hold for the faith of that man among you to be true and enduring, who, throwing himself from the top of the adjacent hill remains unscathed!" Here upon the Jains merely kept looking at each other but the Brahmin readily accepted the challenge and took the risk. The ordeal was accordingly gone through before a large concourse of people. Kumarila leaped down the hill and soft-landed, 'like a pillow stuffed with down.'

"The Jains, however argued that it was not the right test in setting the veracity of faiths, for the body in such cases would be protected from mishap by means of charms, drugs, or yogic practices. The King was wroth and proposed a second test as a kind of ultimatum. He ordered a jar to be brought into the assembly with its mouth carefully covered and sealed and declared that he would embrace the faith of that party which could divulge exactly what was inside the covered jar. The parties met next morning and the Jains declared that the jar contained a snake, while Bhatta, emphatically said it was god Vishnu reclining on his serpent couch. At these words the King's face, wore a wan look like the lotus that withers in a dry pond. From the awkward predicament the King was soon relieved; for an oracle from the air proclaimed that the Bhatta was right, and the other party was wrong! The King rid of his doubts instantaneously issued the memorable edict:—"Let all those my subjects be slain who fail to oust the heretics whether they be old or young from the snow-capped mountain to the bridge of Rama!"

We cannot attach much importance to this version about Kumarila Bhatta given either by Anandagiri or

Madhava. In the decadent days of Buddhism or Jainism the adherents of these faiths could have been the targets for religious persecution or subjected to severe punishment and ignominy. The patronage given by the rulers of those distant times to these heterodox systems of religious thoughts should have been gradually transferred to Hinduism so as to effect a complete reconversion of the people to more or less an orientated ancient faith. Thus much may be freely accepted. But to prove that there was any religious persecution or holocaust of the adherents of these heterodox faiths, we have no tangible evidence. It is true, that in Europe during the Middle Ages various demoniac ways were adopted by the inquisitors to persecute the infidels. But taking a more sober view about India and its non-aggressive inhabitants, and interpreting these legendary accounts, in the light of saner criticism, we have every reason to believe that these religious persecutions scarcely tarnished the pure image of the Indian society. History proves infallibly that believers of different faiths or religious callings amicably lived together for centuries. A relentless persecution for the sake of religion would never have been a fact in the history of India.

On the whole, however, Kumarila Bhatta seems to have succeeded in converting many who belonged to the heterodox systems to Vedic Hinduism. Tradition confirms of his having had a large following. Bhatta was, as Smritis enjoin technically guilty of the offence of betraying his preceptor (*Gurudroha*) and he wanted to expiate for his sin by burning himself in a slow fire of grain-husk (*tushanala*). But he had heard of his more illustrious contemporary and wanted to meet him before his death with the satisfaction that his great mission would be continued by a worthier agent.

The news of Kumarila's self-immolation reached Sankara at Prayaga and he hurried to Ruddhapura to avert the gruesome end of Bhatta. He reached in time to see the great exponent of the *Karma marga* alive amidst the flames and vainly did he try to dissuade him from this suicidal act. But the adamant penitent Bhatta, directed Sankara to meet his famous pupil and advocate of *Mimamsa* doctrine Mandana Misra. In all likelihood, it may be a fact that Bhatta had ended his life in that strange fashion; for his nature as the traditional accounts reveal it, seems to have been highly susceptible to emotional fervour. Being terribly earnest and conscious also that nothing but a drastic step would clear him of the guilt, he underwent the fire ordeal. That act of self-sacrifice was in keeping with the casuistic nature of the doctrine he preached all his life.

We now come to the greatest achievement of Sankara—the polemics he had with Mandana Misra and its outcome. All the Sankara Vijayas have elaborately treated this important episode. Leaving Prayaga, Sankara journeyed to Mahishmati where Mandana was living. This great *Mimamsa* saka was a faithful student of Bhatta. He is described as an avatara of Brahma and it is also said that his devoted spouse was a very learned lady and that all deemed her to be the goddess of learning herself. Mandana Misra was a Kanojiya Gowda Brahmana by caste. He was the chief of his place with great influence. He lived in a fine mansion in a grand fashion. It is related that even the parrots flitting in his spacious gardens mimicked the formula of the master—*Svata pramanam Paratha pramanam*. Madhava's Sankara Vijaya places the incident of the polemical disquisitions between, these great teachers relatively at the

outset of Sankara's *tour de triumphe*. Anandagiri on the otherhand makes Sankara go from Ruddhapura where Bhatta ended his life 'northwards and reaching Vidyalaya lying at the south-east of Hastinapura, now called Vijil bindu, where lived Mandana then.

Sankara repaired to Mandana Misra's residence and met him in controversy there. The account of the meeting narrated by Madhava seems to be untrustworthy. We can only infer from his description that Mandana, reared in the Karma Mimamsa ideology had an innate hatred for 'Maskarins' (ascetics) as a class of people, whom he thought were unfit for entertainment. We are told by Anandagiri that Mandana was performing a 'Sraddha' ceremony, at the time, when Sankara somehow 'dropped down in front of him' and desired Mandana to let him have the honour of a wordy bout with him. Now it so happened that Mandana had a worthy spouse named Bharati whose erudition and accomplishments were many. The polemical champions accordingly pitched upon her as their umpire. It was stipulated that the defeated party would become the adherent of the victor. In another words, Sankara if vanquished would become a *grihasta*,—the worst transgression which an ascetic could commit. Mandana in his turn agreed to become an anchorite and take to the *kashaya vastra* (red-robe) from the hands of his own wife. On this rigid condition they met in argument which waxed day by day without a break. Bharati according to Madhava Sankara Vijaya did not sit and listen, but was attending to her own household duties. At the commencement of the dispute, she gave two garlands one for each of the disputants with a clear injunction that he whose garland begins to fade first, should consider himself outdone.

After a protracted period, Mandana's garland showed signs of fading first. Accordingly he owned defeat though in a sullen mood; while his wife knowing now that her husband was no more a husband to her, prepared to leave the home. But Sankara did not allow her to do so. Mandana gracefully acquiesced in his fall and accordingly adopted the Sanyasa Dharma.

Later on, we hear of the very thrilling story about Sankara and Bharati. Bharati intervened and challenged Sankara to a controversy with her. The King of Saints objected to arguing with women but she showed precedents. She passed from one science to another and in all of them she was thrown overboard. Finding that she could not overcome her formidable opponent in any argument, she resolved to humble him by calling him to speak on the lore of Love or *Kama Sastra*. Sankara was antipathic to things erotic and if he failed to answer queries on this subject, he found that his reputation would be at stake. So he begged of her a month's time to consider the question. He went to the bank of Narmada and in the hole of a tree in a forest there, he left his body to be watched over by his disciples while his soul was away from its case. His Yogic experience helped him to metamorphose himself into the deadbody of a King called Amaruka which was about to be cremated. The dead King woke up as if from sleep and resumed his mundane existence.

The ministers and the queen consorts of the King found in him something extraordinary and suspected that the soul of some blessed being had taken a fancy to live in the royal body to enjoy life. Messengers were secretly sent to search for a human body hidden in forest or cavern and to burn it when apprehended, so that the great soul might stay with

them and the King continue to live long. Meanwhile Sankara in the corporal case of the King was gathering varied erotic experiences which, it is said, have come to posterity under the title ¹³⁹ *Amarusataka*—one hundred pieces of amatory verses depicting the infinite erotic moods and situations. The amorous surroundings had for some-time even made the great Sankara to forget the purpose for which he had taken so much pain of leaving his own body and living in an alien atmosphere. His disciples went searching for him as the time-limit for his return had

¹³⁹ No trace of this strange story can be found in any of the Sankara Vijayas. But Madhava in his biography of Sankara in the 9th and 10th Sargas has written that when Sankara was about to take his seat on the Sarvajna pitha, Goddess Sarada had put him this question 'कला कियत्यो वद पुष्पधन्वनः किमात्मिका किञ्च पदं समाश्रिताः । पूर्वे च पक्षे कथमन्यथा स्थितिः कथं युवत्यां कथमेव पुरुषे ॥' In reply to her, the great Samyamindra, traversed all the sexologies, met her in all the arguments and triumphed. 'वात्स्यायनप्रोदित सूत्र जातं तदीय भाष्यं च विलोक्य सम्यक् । स्वयं व्यधत्ताभिनवार्थगर्भं निबन्धमेकं नृपवेषधारी ॥' from this we learn, that the Teacher could have written some treatise on the erotic Science and decidedly he could not be the author of the *Amaru Sataka* now extant. 'न तु अमरुशतक निर्माण सूचनमात्रमपि शंकरदिग्विजये समुपलभ्यते; न अपि अमरुशतके शारदा प्रश्नोत्तरानरूपं किमपि अस्ति तस्माद् एवं विधा निर्मूला जनश्रुतयः कथं प्रमाणत्वेन स्वीकर्तुमर्हाः?' (See introduction to *Amaru Sataka* by Narayana Rama Acharya Kavaya Tirtha). Sankara was a born rationalist; he would never have stooped down to perform this sort of miracle. Some inferior scribe, to give his imagination 'a local habitation and a name' might have woven this tissue of fancy and pure lie. Hence this strong romantic tale has to be dismissed as worthless and unfounded.

expired. They came to know of the miraculous resurrection of Amaruka; they went to his city and sought his audience. They sang the cryptic song—"Tatvamasi Rājan" which at once stirred Sankara back to his realities. But, by this time the denizens of the King had found the body of Sankara and were just setting fire to it. The metamorphosed soul of Sankara fled back to its original habitat.

It is said that he prayed to God Nrisimha for succour, with whose benign grace his charred body regained its original lustre. His invocation to god Nrisimha is in the form of *Sankashtanaśana Lakshmi Nrisimha Stotra* ¹⁴⁰.

Sankara established his supremacy in every phase of knowledge. According to Madhava Sankara Vijaya, Bharati returned back to her heavenly abode as she was the Goddess Sarasvati incarnate on earth due to a curse of the rishi Durvasas. But Chidvilasa and other biographers say that she accompanied Sankara to Sringeri, where he caused a shrine to be built, which he dedicated to her.

¹⁴⁰ *Sankashtanaśana Lakshmi Nrisimha Stotra* is a beautiful poem of 12 stanzas breathing fervour and resignation to God's will. It begins with !

श्रीमत्पयोनिधिनिकेतन चक्रपाणे
भोगीन्द्र भोगमणिरञ्जित पुण्यमूर्ते ।
योगीश शाश्वत शरण्य भवाब्धिपोत
लक्ष्मीनृसिंह मम देहि करावलंबम् ॥

It concludes with the Phala-sruti.

यन्माययोजितवपुः प्रचुरप्रवाहमग्नं शरण्य वितरोरु करावलंबम् ।
लक्ष्मीनृसिंहचरणान्तमधुव्रतेन स्तोत्रं कृतं सुखकरं भुवि शंकरेण ॥

This hymn finds a place in the stotra pustakas.

Mandana offered all his possessions as gift to Sankara and became his ardent devotee. He is the author of numerous works on Vedanta and Mimamsa (1) *Naishkarmya Siddhi*, (2) *Tattiriya Upanishad Bhāshya Vārtika*, (3) *Brihadāranyaka Upanishad Bhāshya Vārtika*, (4) *Manasollāsa*, a commentary on Sankara's Dakshināmurti Stotra, (5) *Panchākarana Vārtika*, (6) *Brahma Siddhi*, (7) *Vidhi Viveka*, (8) *Vibhrama Vilāsa*. Undoubtedly he was the most illustrious of Sankara's pupils and was held in high esteem by his followers. This honour seemed to have provoked the jealousy of others which was the cause for the split among the disciples of the Acharya. A squabble arose over the writing of the Brahma Sutra bhashya, as reported by Madhava in his Sankara Vijaya, though much evidence cannot be attached to it. Sri Sankara wanted Suresvaracharya to write the Vartika (poetical commentary) on the Sutra bhashya but Chitsukha and other friends of Padmapada objected to this, saying that Suresvaracharya might not have been a sincere convert to Sankara's system of philosophy and if he was allowed to write a Vartika on the Acharya's *magnum opus* he might try to colour it by his own doctrines of Karma-Marga. Upon this, Sankara gave a testwork for his pupil and the latter fully came up to the mark by writing the *Naishkarmya Siddhi*; but the oppositio-
nist would not yield and Sankara vowed that his Sutra Bhashya should remain *sans Vārtika* rather than it be written by anyone else but Suresvaracharya. Padmapada during his tour, estranged from his Guru wrote a large commentary on the Sutra Bhashya. Unfortunately this work was burnt by his uncle who was a staunch Mimamsaka of the Prabhākara School. The repentent Padmapada returned to his master who came to know of the pathetic news, and by whose grace he re-wrote a part of the lost work, now known

as '*Panchapadika*' (a commentary on the Sutra Bhashya for the first five *padas*, but really covering the first four *sutras*). Suresvaracharya had to satisfy himself with writing *vārtikas* on the Upanishads of which two have seen the light of day viz. those on the Taittiriya and Brihadāranyaka Upanishad Bhashyas. Suresvaracharya lived till his 70th year, in Kanchi and died in a neighbouring village Punyarasā which was also named Mandana Misra agrahara after him.

Once when Sankara was sojourning in Kasi (Varānasi) he happened to be going with his disciples to take his midday dip in the Ganges. A chandala (according to the biographers, it was Shiva himself who appeared in that form to test Sankara's attitude towards the lowliest and the lost) with his dogs was passing by him, when the disciples shouted to him to stand clear of their path. This man, however turned about and asked the great Teacher how he might consistently preach Advaitism and practise such differentiating untouchability.—'Does it make any difference in this gem of heaven, the sun, if he is reflected in the waters of the Ganges or in the gutter flowing through the scavenger's street? Does it make any difference in the *Akasa* enclosed in an earthen pot or in a vase of gold? In That thing, the Inner-being of all, the unruffled Ocean of Bliss and Light, what means this great delusion, this chimera of separateness, creating distinctions of Brahmana and Chandala?' ¹⁴¹ The great Sankara was struck aghast at the

¹⁴¹ किं गङ्गां बुनि विम्बितेऽम्बरमणौ चाण्डालवादीपयः—

पूरे वान्तरमस्ति काञ्चनघटीमृत्कुम्भयोर्वाम्बरे ।

प्रत्यग्वस्तुनि निस्तरङ्ग सहजानन्दावबोधाम्बुधौ

विप्रोऽयं श्वपचोऽयमित्यपि महान् कोऽयं विभेद भ्रमः ॥

poser. Pertinent to that occasion, the gem of songs *Manisha Panchakam* ¹⁴³ gushed forth from him. It reveals to us what a wide sympathy the Acharya had for the commonalty!

Sankara at Sringeri lived for 12 years teaching the Vedanta. We have already referred to Sringeri where the saint had advised Mandana's wife Bharati to stay. She remained a nun and was happy to accompany her converted husband wherever he went. She was perfectly justified in the ways she adopted—donning the *Kāshaya*. Indeed she was very wise in following him and Sankara. Her immaculate life as a recluse and her peaceful end at Sringeri added lustre to her reputation. To place her in the niche of fame and everlasting glory, it is sufficient to know that Sankara considered her to be worthy of adoration and reverential worship.

He next visited Kanyakumari, at the confluence of the three seas, 'Sandhi' (Thiruchendur) Rameswaram, Gajanya, Venkatachala, and Kalahasti etc. After a *pradakshina* tour, he finally settled at Kanchi, one among the seven great cities of Bharatavarsha—the famous centre of South Indian culture and civilisation. Through the Chola King Rajasena (who was this Chola?) who was reigning

¹⁴³ *Manisha Panchakam* is a gem of 5 stanzas containing the quintessence of the Advaita philosophy. It begins with:

जाग्रत्स्वप्न सुषुप्तिषु स्फुटतरा या संविदुज्जृम्भते
या ब्रह्मादि पिपीलिकान्त तनुषु प्रोता जगत्साक्षिणी ।
सैवाहं न च दृश्यवस्तिवति दृढप्रज्ञाऽपि यस्यास्ति चेत्
चाण्डालोऽस्तु स तु द्विजोऽस्तु गुरुरित्येषा मनीषा मम ॥

It is translated in many languages for its beauty and truth. A commentary to it, by Sri Sadasiva Brahmendra is also available.

then, the Acharya renovated many ruined temples, extended chiefly the temples of Ekamranatha and Varadaraja and rebuilt the city on a new plan with the shrine of Kamakshi in the centre (*Kamakottam*). ¹⁴³ There Devi had been living in a cave (*Bila*) as an Ugra-kala (evil spirit), dreaded by the inhabitants. Sankara transformed her into a gentle and more benign form and installed her as the guardian deity of that place.

According to the tradition preserved in the annals of the Kanchi Matha (मौलान्मायः) and endorsed by authoritative biographers, Sankara ascended the 'Sarvajna Pitha' (the Seat of Omniscience). Thus his *Digvijaya* culminated in that grand ascension.

Sankara established a central institution (केन्द्रमठ) with religious jurisdiction over the whole of India. The Kanchi Matha is known as Sarada Matha (it is not to be confounded with Sarada Pitha at Sringeri), and the seat as the Kamakoti Pitha. So, Sankara was its first incumbent. From this central institution radiated the other Advaita Mathas—

¹⁴³ Sankara did not confine himself only to spiritual things, it seems he took keen interest also in the secular welfare of the people. His town-planning, placing Kamakottam in the centre had made Kanchi, a golden city with spacious streets. An old Tamil poem, *Perumbanaruppadai* (பெரும்பாணற்றுப்படை) gives a correct picture of the city as it flourished in that distant age:—

‘பல்லிதழ்த் தாமரைப்பொருட்டின் காண்வரத் தோன்
றிச் சுடுமண் ஓங்கிய நெடுநகர் வரைப்பின்; மலர்தலை
உலகத்துள்ளும் பலர்தொழ விழவுமேம்பட்ட பழவிறல்
முதூர்.....கச்சி.’

Kanchi with its well defined topography was modelled after a full-petalled lotus—i.e. the *padmakosa* pattern of city.

Jyotir Matha (Joshi Mutt) in Badarikasrama, in the North ; Dvaraka Matha (Sourashtra) in the West ; Sringeri, in the South (Mysore) ; Govardhana (Puri) in the East, with Totaka, Padmapāda, Sureswara and Hasthāmālakā as their respective heads. The jurisdiction of these institutions, their traditions and observances, are elaborately treated in the Mathāmnayās, believed to have been framed by Sankara himself.

Having established his divine mission, the incomparable Sankara attained his Brahmābhāva (identity with Brahman) at Kanchi, in the precincts of Sri Kamakshi, in his 32nd year, in 2625 Kali, in the cyclic year Raktākshi, corresponding to 476 B.C.

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APPENDIX—I

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF ADI S'ANKARA'S LIFE

	Kali	B.C.
Birth of Sri Sankara at Kalati on Vaisakha Sukla Panchami (cyclic year 'Nandana').	2593	509
Upanayana of Sankara.	2598	504
In the beginning of his 8th year he lost his father <i>Sivaguru</i> .	2601	501
Completed the study of the four Vēdās and Vēdāngās.	2601	501
Got permission of his mother to enter the holy order of Sanyāsa (Kārtika Sukla Ekādasi, cyclic year 'Plava').	2602	500
Initiated by Govinda Bhagavatpādāchārya into <i>Krama Sanyasa</i> at Amarakantha on the banks of the Narmada river. (Phālguna Suddha Dvitiya of the cyclic year 'Subhakrit').	2603	499
Studied philosophical systems under Govinda Bhagavatpadācharya.	2603 to 2605	499 to 497
Visited his Paramaguru, Gaudapādācharya who was aged 120 years by that time at Badarikāsrama on the Himalayas and stayed there for four years to study further, under the direct guidance of the Paramaguru.	2605 to 2609	497 to 493

Kali B.C.

By the order of his Paramaguru, Sankara wrote a Bhāshya on Gaudāpada Karikās and sixteen Bhāshyās on Prastāna traya etc., in this span of four years.

,, ,,

Initiation of Vishnu Sarma into sanyasa by Sankara. He was his co-student at Kalati and followed him in all his activities. His *turiya-asrama* name is 'Chitsukhacharya' (He was the author of 'Brihat Sankara Vijaya' the first biography of Sankara, now irretrievably lost.)

,, ,,

Death of Sankara's mother *Aryamba*. (cyclic year 'Plavanga')

2608 492

Niryāna of Govinda Bhagavatpadā, the Guru of Sankara (Kartika Pūrṇima, cyclic year 'Plavanga'.)

2608 492

Initiation of 'Sanandana' into Sanyasa order. His Sanyasa name is *Padma pādācharya*.

2608 492

Sankara's visit to Prayaga to propagate the Advaita Philosophy (Magha, Bahula Amavasya).

2609 493

The Brahmin who was suffering from leprosy and cured by Sankara at Prayāga was his third disciple. His name is *Udanka*.

2609 493

Kali B.C.

The fourth disciple, the dumb man was the son of Prabhakarādhavarin, by name Prithvidhara. His sanyasa name given by Sankara is 'Hastāmalāka-charya.

9209 492

Prabhakarādhavarin, father of Prithvidhara also took the order of sanyasa.

,, ,,

Sankara in his 16th year met Kumarila Bhatta for the first and the last time in Ruddhapura near Prayaga, in the act of self-immolation. Kumarila Bhatta is older than Sankara by 48 years. (cyclic year 'Kṛlaka')

,, ,,

The Great Pandit Mandana Misra was an independent Brahmin chief. He was a Kanojiya Gauda Brahmin. He was the disciple of Kumarila Bhatta and a staunch adherent of Karma-kanda of the Vēdas. After a great discussion, Mandana Misra became the disciple of Sri Sankara. Leaving his *Grihasta Asrama* he became a Sanyasin. His sanyasa name is 'Surēśvara-chāry' (cyclic year *Sādhārana*).

2611 491

Sri Sankara founded the 'Dvārakā Math.' (Magha Sukhlā Saptamī of the cyclic year *Sādhārana* with 'Hastāmalaka' as its 1st Adhipati or Head.

2611 491

	<i>Kali</i>	<i>B.C.</i>
Sankara visited Nēpāl and refuted the Buddhists. (vide the Indian Antiquary Vol. XIII. P. 417 ff).	2614 to 2615	488 to 487
Founded 'Jyotir Math' (Joshi Mutt) in the Himalayas; (Pushya Suddha Pūrṇima, of the cyclic year <i>Rākshasa</i>) with <i>Totakāchārya</i> as its 1st Adhipati or Head.	2616	486
Sankara founded the 'Govardhana Matha' of Puri (Jagannath), (Vaiśākha Sukla Dasami, of the cyclic year 'Nala') with <i>Padmapādāchārya</i> as its 1st Adhipati or Head.	2617	484
The Sārada Pitha at 'Sringeri' was founded in Pushya Pūrṇima of the year 'Pingala' with <i>Sureswarāchārya</i> as its first Pithādhipati.	2618	484
The Kamakoti pītha at 'Kanchi' was founded in Vaisakha Pūrṇima of the year 'Siddharthin' with Adi Sankara himself as its first Acharya.	2620	482
Brahmibhava of Sri Sankara in his 32nd year at Kanchi, on Vaisākha Sukla Ekādasi. (cyclic year 'Raktākshi').	2625	476